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THE

Miſcellaneous WORKS

Fowler OF Comings

Mr. JOHN TOLAND,

Now firſt publiſhed from his
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

CONTAINING,

I. An Hiſtory of the *Britiſh* Druids, with a Critical Eſſay on the ancient *Celtic* Cuſtoms, Literature, &c. To which is added, an Account of ſome curious *Britiſh* Antiquities.
II. An Account of *Jordano Bruno*, and his celebrated Book on the Innumerable Worlds.
III. A Diſquiſition concerning thoſe Writings, which by the Ancients were truly or falſely aſcribed to Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles.
IV. The Secret Hiſtory of the *South-Sea* Scheme.
V. A Plan for a National Bank.
VI. An Eſſay on the Roman Education.
VII. The tragical Death of *Attilius Regulus*, proved to be a Fiction.
VIII. Select Epiſtles from *Pliny*, tranſlated into *Engliſh*.
IX. A diverting Deſcription of *Epſom*, and its Amuſements.
X. Four Memorials to the Earl of *Sh—ft—ry*, relating to Affairs of State in 1713, 1714.
XI. Phyſick without Phyſicians.
XII. Letters on various Subjects.
XIII. *Cicero illuſtratus*.
XIV. *Conjectura de primâ Typographiæ Origine*.

To the whole is prefixed,
A Copious ACCOUNT of Mr. *TOLAND*'s
Life and Writings.
By Mr. *DES MAIZEAUX*.

In TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

176132
23.11.22.

LONDON:

Printed for J. WHISTON, in *Fleet-Street*; S. BAKER, in *Ruſſel-Court* near *Covent-Garden*; and J. ROBINSON, in *Ludgate-Street*. 1747.

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SOME MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF Mr. JOHN TOLAND:

IN A LETTER TO S*** B*** L***.

May 26th 1722.

SIR,

WHEN, in the courſe of our Correſpondence, I ſent you the news of Mr. TOLAND's Death, I little expected you wou'd ask me for an Account of his Life; and therefore in my next Letter, I deſir'd you to conſider that I was every way unqualified for a work of that nature: but your anſwer was, that, as you conceiv'd the Life of an Author chiefly conſiſted in the Hiſtory of his Books and Diſputes, with which any one might eaſily make himſelf acquainted; you did not require more of me than I could perform. This made me ſuſpect, that you intended to try, whether my readineſs to oblige you, was anſwerable to the ſeveral marks of friendſhip I had received from you; and therefore, without any further conſideration, I reſolv'd to comply with your requeſt. But when I came to the performance, I found it ſo difficult to meet with proper materials, that I thought I ſhou'd have been oblig'd, either to drop my deſign, or to ſend you a moſt confus'd and imperfect account: the former of which, you might have imagin'd to proceed from my want of reſpect for you; and the latter, to be an effect of my negligence. But it happen'd, by the greateſt accident in the world, that I fell into the company of a Gentleman, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. TOLAND, and who very generouſly communicated to me ſeveral particulars concerning him. Theſe have been of great uſe to me in compiling the following MEMOIRS, which, I hope, will afford you ſome entertainment.

Mr. TOLAND was born on the 30th of November 1670, in the moſt northern Peninſula in Ireland, in the Iſthmus whereof ſtands Londonderry. That Peninſula was originally called *Inis-Eogan*, or *Inis Eogain*, but is now call'd *Iniſoen*, or *Enis-owen*. He had the Name of JANUS JUNIUS given him at the font, and was call'd by that name in the ſchool-roll every morning: but the other boys making a jeſt of it, the Maſter himſelf order'd him to be call'd JOHN for the future; which name he kept ever after.

I can give you no particular account of his Parentage. Some have affirm'd that his Father was a Popiſh Prieſt; and he hath been abuſed by Abbot TILLADET (1), Biſhop HUETIUS (2), and others, upon the account of his pretended illegitimacy: which, were it true, is a moſt baſe and ridiculous reproach; the Child, in ſuch a caſe, being intirely innocent of the guilt of his Parents. But no Popiſh Writer will, I preſume, aſperſe him in that reſpect for the future, when they have ſeen the Teſtimonial, which was given him in the year 1708, by the Iriſh Franciſcans of Prague, where he happen'd to be at that time. It runs thus:

Infra-ſcripti teſtamur Dom. JOANNEM TOLAND *ortum eſſe ex honeſta, nobili, & antiquiſſima Familia, quæ per plures centenos*

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(1) Preface des *Diſſertations* de Mr. Huet *ſur diverſes matieres de Religion & de Philologie*, §. v.

(2) *Commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, pag. 412.

nos annos, ut Regni Hiſtoria & continua monſtrant memoria, in Peninſula Hiberniæ Enis-Oën *dictâ, prope urbem Londino-Derienſem in Ultonia, perduravit. In cujus rei firmiorem fidem, nos ex eadem Patria oriundi propriis manibus ſubſcripſimus, Pragæ in Bohemia, hac die* 2 *Jan.* 1708.

JOANNES O NEILL, Superior Collegii Hibernorum.

L. S. FRANCISCUS O DEULIN, S. Theologiæ Profeſſor.

RUDOLPHUS Ô NEILL, S. Theol. Lector.

THESE honeſt Friars, you ſee, do certify under their hands and ſeal, that Mr. TOLAND was deſcended from an honourable, noble, and moſt ancient Family, recorded in the Hiſtory of Ireland for ſeveral hundred years.

HOWEVER, we may take it for granted, that his Relations were Papiſts: for he himſelf tells us, that he was “ educated (3) “ from his cradle in the groſſeſt Superſtition “ and Idolatry, but God was pleas’d to make “ his own Reaſon, and ſuch as made uſe of “ theirs, the happy inſtruments of his Con- “ verſion :” for “ he was not ſixteen years

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(3) Preface to *Chriſtianity not myſterious*, p. m. viii. ix.

" old when he became (4) as zealous againſt " Popery, as he hath ever ſince continued.

FROM the School at " Redcaſtle near " Londonderry, he went in 1687 to the " College of Glaſcow in Scotland:" and after three years ſtay there, he viſited the Univerſity of Edinburg, where he was created Maſter of Arts, on the 30th of June 1690, and receiv'd the uſual Diploma or Certificate from the Profeſſors. Here is a Copy of it.

UNIVERSIS *&* *ſingulis ad quos præſentes Literæ pervenient*, NOS *Univerſitatis Jacobi Regis Edinburgenæ Profeſſores, ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam comprecamur:* UNAQUE *teſtamur ingenuum hunc bonæ ſpei Juvenem Magiſtrum* JOANNEM TOLAND *Hibernum, moribus, diligentia, & laudabili ſucceſſu ſe nobis ita approbaſſe, ut poſt editum Philoſophici profectus examen, ſolenni more Magiſter in Artibus Liberalibus renunciaretur, in Comitiis noſtris Laureatis anno ſalutis milleſimo, ſexcenteſimo & nonageſimo, trigeſimo die Junii: Quapropter non dubitamus eum nunc à Nobis in Patriam redeuntem, ut egregium Adoleſcentem, omnibus quos adire vel quibuſcum verſari contigerit de meliori nota commendare, ſperantes illum (opitulante divina gratia) Literis hiſce Teſtimonialibus fore abunde reſponſurum. In quo-*

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(4) *An Apology for Mr. Toland*, Lond. 1697, p. 16.

rum fidem inclyta Civitas Edinburgum Academiæ hujus Parens & Altrix, ſigillo ſuo publico Literas ſyngraphis noſtris porro confirmari juſſit.

Dabamus in ſupradicto Athenæo Regio 22^do^ *die Julii anno Æræ Chriſtianæ* 1690.

L. S.

AL. MONRO, S. S. T. D.
Profeſſor primarius.

JO. STRAHAN, S. S. T. D.
ejuſdemque Profeſſor.

D. GREGORIE, Math. P.

J. HERBERTUS KENNEDY,
P. P.

J. DRUMMOND, H. L. P.

THO. BURNET, Ph. P.

ROBERTUS HENDERSON,
B. & Academiæ ab
Archivis, &c.

Mr. TOLAND having receiv'd his Diploma, went back to Glaſcow, where he made but a ſhort ſtay. Upon his departure from it, the Magiſtrates of that City gave him the following recommendatory Letters:

" WE the Magiſtrats of Glaſcow under-
" ſubſcribeing, do hereby teſtifie and declare
" to all whom theſe preſents may concern,
" That the bearer JOHN TOLLAND, Maſter of
" Arts,

"Arts did reſide here for ſome yeares as a "Student at the Univerſitie in this Citie, du- "reing which tyme he behaved himſelf as ane "trew Proteſtant and Loyal Subject; as witneſs "owr hands at Glaſcow the penult day of "July one thouſand ſex hundreth and ninetie "yeares. And the common Seale of Office "of the ſaid Citie is hereunto affixt.

JOHN LECKE.

L. S.

GEORGE NISBITT.

FROM Scotland, Mr. TOLAND intended to have return'd into Ireland, as it appears by the Certificate of the Univerſity of Edinburg: but he alter'd his mind, and came into England, "where he liv'd (5) in as good "Proteſtant Families as any in the Kingdom, "till he went to the famous Univerſity of "Leiden in Holland to perfect his Studies," under the celebrated SPANHEMIUS, TRIGLANDIUS, &c. There he was generouſly ſupported and maintain'd by ſome eminent Diſſenters in England, who had conceiv'd great hopes from his uncommon parts, and might flatter themſelves that, in time, he wou'd be ſerviceable to them in the quality of a Miniſter. For he had liv'd in their communion ever ſince he forſook Popery; as he owns himſelf in a Pamphlet printed in the year 1697. "Mr. TO-

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(5) *Apology*, p. 17.

“ LAND, (ſays he (6) in anſwer to the impu-
“ tation of being a rigid *Nonconformiſt*), will
“ never deny but the real ſimplicity of the
“ Diſſenters Worſhip, and the ſeeming equi-
“ ty of their Diſcipline (into which being ſo
“ young he could not diſtinctly penetrate) did
“ gain extraordinarily upon his affections, juſt
“ as he was newly deliver'd from the inſup-
“ portable yoke of the moſt pompous and ty-
“ rannical Policy that ever enſlaved mankind
“ under the name or ſhew of Religion. But
“ when greater experience and more years
“ had a little ripen'd his judgment, he eaſily
“ perceiv'd that the Differences were not ſo
“ wide as to appear irreconcileable, or at leaſt,
“ that men who were ſound Proteſtants on
“ both ſides, ſhould barbarouſly cut one ano-
“ thers throats, or indeed give any diſturbance
“ to the ſociety about them. And as ſoon as
“ he underſtood the late heats and animoſi-
“ ties did not totally (if at all) proceed from
“ a concern for mere Religion, he allowed
“ himſelf a latitude in ſeveral things, that
“ would have been matter of ſcruple to him
“ before. His travels increas'd, and the ſtudy
“ of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory perfected this diſpo-
“ ſition, wherein he continues to this hour:
“ for, whatever his own opinion of thoſe
“ Differences be, yet he finds ſo eſſential an
“ Agreement between the French, Dutch,
“ Engliſh, Scotiſh, and other Proteſtants, that
“ he's

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(6) *Apology*, p. 18, 19.

“ he's reſolv'd never to loſe the benefit of
“ an inſtructive Diſcourſe in any of their
“ Churches upon that ſcore; and it muſt be a
“ civil not a religious intereſt that can engage
“ him againſt any of theſe Parties, not think-
“ ing all their private notions wherein they
“ diſagree worth endangering, much leſs ſub-
“ verting, the publick Peace of a Nation. If
“ this, *purſues he*, makes a man a Noncon-
“ formiſt, then Mr. TOLAND is one unqueſ-
“ tionably.

IN the year 1692, Mr. DANIEL WILLIAMS, a Diſſenting Miniſter, having publiſh'd a Book intitled: *Goſpel Truth ſtated and vindicated; wherein ſome of Dr.* CRISP's *Opinions are conſidered, and the oppoſite truths are plainly ſtated and confirm'd*; Mr. TOLAND ſent it to the Author of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, and deſir'd him to give an Abſtract of it in that Journal: at the ſame time, he related to him the Hiſtory of that Book, and of the Controverſy it referr'd to. The Journaliſt comply'd with his requeſt; and to the Abſtract of Mr. WILLIAMS's Book, he prefix'd the Letter he had receiv'd from Mr. TOLAND, whom he ſtyles *Student in Divinity* (7).

AFTER having ſojourn'd about two years at Leiden, he came back into England; and ſoon after went to Oxford; where beſides the Converſation of learned Men, who have never been wanting in that famous Univerſity, he had the advantage of the publick Library. He collected materials upon various ſubjects, and compos'd ſome Pieces, among others a *Diſſertation wherein he proves the receiv'd Hiſtory of the tragical Death of* ATILIUS REGULUS, *the Roman Conſul, to be a fable* (8). And here he begun to ſhew his inclination for Paradoxes, and the pleaſure he took in oppoſing traditional and commonly receiv'd Opinions: which humour is often beneficial to the Public, as it promotes the diſcovery of truth, which ſeldom or never ſuffers by a free examination. Mr. TOLAND owns himſelf indebted for this notion to PALMERIUS: who has examin'd that ſubject, in his Obſervations on ſeveral Greek Authors (9). If the ingenious Abbé de VERTOT had ſeen that learned and judicious performance of PALMERIUS, he wou'd not have related, as a fact, the tragical Death of that Conſul, in his *Revolutions of the Roman Republick*; but have look'd upon it as a Romance.

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(7) *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, Tom. xxiii. p. 505.

THE ſame byaſs for Paradoxes, put Mr. TOLAND upon another Work of greater conſequence: he undertook to prove that there are no *Myſteries* in the Chriſtian Religion. But he left Oxford in 1695, before that Book was finiſh'd; and came to London, where he publiſh'd it the next year, under the title of *Chriſtianity not Myſterious: or, a Treatiſe ſhewing, that there is nothing in the Goſpel contrary to Reaſon, nor above it: and that no Chriſtian Doctrine can be properly call'd a Myſtery.*

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(8) That Diſſertation you'll find in this *Collection.* Vol. II. pag. 18.

(9) *Obſervationes in optimos fere Authores Græcos.* pag. 147, 151, & ſeqq.

TO affirm that the Chriſtian Religion has no *Myſteries*, or nothing *above Reaſon*, muſt indeed appear a ſtrange Paradox: but as we ought not to be prejudiced or frighten'd with words, let us examine our Author's intent and meaning.

THE word *Myſtery*, ſays he, is always us'd in the New Teſtament for *a thing intelligible in itſelf, but which could not be known without ſpecial Revelation.* And to prove that aſſertion, he examines all the paſſages of the New Teſtament where the word *Myſtery* occurs; and ſhews, firſt, that *Myſtery* is read for the Goſpel or the Chriſtian Religion in general, as it was a future diſpenſation totally hid from the Gentiles, and but very imperfectly known to the Jews: ſecondly, that ſome peculiar Doctrines occaſionally reveal'd by the Apoſtles, are ſaid to be *manifeſted Myſteries*, that is, unfolded ſecrets: and thirdly, that *Myſtery* is put for any thing vail'd under parables, or enigmatical forms of ſpeech.

AND to ſet this matter in a clearer light, he obſerves, that as in the phenomena of Nature, we neither call *Myſteries* thoſe things which are perfectly unknown to us, nor thoſe whereof we can have no adequate idea ; the ſame way of ſpeaking ought to be uſed in religious matters; ſince all the reveal'd truths of the Chriſtian Religion, which it is neceſſary and beneficial for us to know, can be made as clear and intelligible as natural things which come within our knowledge and comprehenſion : and that the caſe is parallel , he promis'd to ſhew in another work, and to give *a particular and rational Explanation of the reputed Myſteries of the Goſpel.* But he declares, at the ſame time, that if his Adverſaries think fit to call a *Myſtery*, whatever is either abſolutely unintelligible to us, or whereof we have but inadequate ideas ; he is ready to admit as many *Myſteries* in Religion as they pleaſe.

SO far, you'll ſay, SIR, there is no great harm done : it is only a diſpute about words. Indeed he pretends that he can give as clear and intelligible an explanation of the Myſteries of the Goſpel, as 'tis poſſible to give of the phenomena of Nature : but do not our Divines do the ſame thing, in attempting to give a rational explanation of the Trinity, the greateſt Myſtery of the Chriſtian Religion ? Such explanations are the teſt of the ſoundneſs of their Doctrine : and who knows but Mr. Toland's explanation, had he given one, might have been orthodox?

IT had been happy for Mr. Toland, if every body had entertained the ſame favourable ſentiments of this work, as you do. But it prov'd otherwiſe. His Treatiſe alarm'd the Public, and ſeveral Books came out againſt it. Mr. Beconsall publiſh'd, *The Chriſtian Belief: wherein is aſſerted and proved, That as there is nothing in the Goſpel contrary to Reaſon, yet there are ſome Doctrines in it above Reaſon; and theſe being neceſſarily enjoyn'd us to believe, are properly call'd Myſteries; in Anſwer to a Book intituled,* Chriſtianity not Myſterious. Mr. Beverley, a Presbyterian Miniſter, put out a Pamphlet intitled, *Chriſtianity the great Myſtery: in Anſwer to a late Treatiſe,* Chriſtianity not Myſterious; *that is,* not above, nor contrary to Reaſon. *In oppoſition to which is aſſerted, Chriſtianity is above created Reaſon, in its pure eſtate; and contrary to human Reaſon, as fallen and corrupted; and therefore in a proper ſenſe* Myſtery. *Together with a Poſtſcript Letter to the Author, on his ſecond edition enlarged.* It was alſo animadverted upon by Mr. Norris, in his *Account of Reaſon and Faith in relation to the Myſteries of Chriſtianity:* by Mr. Elys in his *Letter to Sir* Robert Howard, *with Animadverſions upon a Book, called,* Chriſtianity not Myſterious: by Dr. Payne, in ſome *Sermons* preach'd at Cambridge: by Dr. Stil-

LINGFLEET, Biſhop of Worceſter, in his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c: by the Author of the *Occaſional Paper*, Numb. III: by Mr. MILLER, in his *Diſcourſe of Conſcience*, &c: by Mr. GAILHARD, in his Book againſt the Socinians: by Mr. SYNGE in his *Appendix to the Gentleman's Religion*; &c. It was even preſented by the Grand Jury of Middleſex: but thoſe Preſentments have ſeldom any other effect than to make a Book ſell the better, by publiſhing it thus to the World, and tempting the Curioſity of Men, who are naturally inclin'd to pry into what is forbidden them.

Mr. TOLAND publiſh'd the ſame Year, *A Diſcourſe upon Coins by Signor* BERNARDO DAVANZATI, *a Gentleman of Florence; being publickly ſpoken in the Academy there, anno* 1588. *Tranſlated out of Italian, by* JOHN TOLAND. In the Preface, Mr. TOLAND obſerves that Signor DAVANZATI, was every way qualified to perform his undertaking, being famous for natural and acquir'd parts, not only converſant in Trade, and one of the beſt Arithmeticians of his time; but likewiſe an able Politician, as appears by his admir'd Tranſlation of TACITUS, and his own Original Compoſitions. Mr. TOLAND judg'd it proper to publiſh his *Diſcourſe upon Coins* at a time, when the clipping of Money was become a National grievance, and ſeveral Methods were propos'd to remedy that evil.

HIS *Chriſtianity not Myſterious* being ſent into Ireland, by the London Bookſellers, you may eaſily imagine it made no leſs noiſe there than in England: but the clamour was much encreaſed, when he went thither himſelf towards the beginning of the year 1697.

" IN my laſt to you, *ſays Mr.* MOLYNEUX " *in one of his Letters to Mr.* LOCKE (10), " there was a paſſage relating to the Author " of *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*. I did not " then think that he was ſo near me, as " within the bounds of this City; but I find " ſince that he is come over hither, and have " had the favour of a viſit from him...... " I propoſe a great deal of ſatisfaction in his " Converſation; I take him to be a candid " Free-Thinker, and a good Scholar. But " there is a violent ſort of ſpirit reigns here, " which begins already to ſhew itſelf againſt " him; and I believe, will increaſe daily; for " I find the Clergy alarmed to a mighty degree againſt him. And laſt Sunday he had " his welcome to this City, by hearing himſelf harangued againſt, out of the Pulpit, " by a Prelate of this Country."

Mr. TOLAND himſelf tells us, that " he was " (11) ſcarcely arriv'd in that Country, when " he

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(10) April 6, 1697.

(11) *Apology*, &c. p. 4.

" he ſound himſelf warmly attack'd from
" the Pulpit, which at the beginning could
" not but ſtartle the people, who till then
" were equal ſtrangers to him and his Book;
" yet they became in a little time ſo well
" accuſtom'd to this ſubject, that it was as
" much expected of courſe as if it had been
" preſcrib'd in the Rubrick."

HIS indiſcreet behaviour did not a little contribute to exaſperate them againſt him. "To be free, and without reſerve to you, "*ſays Mr.* MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE (12), "I do not think his Management, ſince he "came into this City, has been ſo prudent. "He has rais'd againſt him the clamours of "all parties; and this, not ſo much by his "Difference in Opinion, as by his unſeaſonable way of diſcourſing, propagating and "maintaining it. Coffee-houſes, and public Tables, are not proper places for ſerious diſcourſes relating to the moſt important truths. But when alſo a Tincture of "Vanity appears in the whole courſe of a "man's Converſation, it diſguſts many, that "may otherwiſe have a due value for his "Parts and Learning."

Mr. TOLAND indeed gives us a different account of himſelf: he ſays, that "ſo far (13)

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(12) May 27, 1697.

(13) *Apology*, p. 6.

" was he from making his Opinions the ſub-
" ject of his common talk, that, notwith-
" ſtanding repeated provocations, he pur-
" poſely declin'd ſpeaking of 'em at all;
" which made his Adverſaries (who ſlipt no
" handle of decrying him) inſinuate, that he
" was not the real Author of the Piece going
" under his name.

HOWEVER it be, " when (14) this
" rough handling of him in the Pulpit (where
" he could not have word about) prov'd in-
" ſignificant, the Grand Jury was ſollicited to
" preſent him for a Book that was written
" and publiſhed in England. And to gain
" the readier compliance, the Preſentment of
" the Grand Jury of Middleſex was printed
" in Dublin with an emphatical Title, and
" cry'd about the ſtreets. So Mr. TOLAND
" was accordingly preſented there the laſt day
" of the Term in the Court of King's-Bench,
" the Jurors not grounding their proceeding
" upon any particular Paſſages of his Book,
" which moſt of 'em never read, and thoſe
" that did confeſs'd not to underſtand.

AT that time, Mr. PETER BROWN, ſenior Fellow of Trinity College near Dublin, publiſh'd a Book againſt Mr. TOLAND, call'd, *A Letter in Anſwer to a Book, entituled,* Chriſtianity not Myſterious: *as alſo to all thoſe*

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(14) *Ibid.* p. 5, 6.

thoſe who ſet up for Reaſon and Evidence in oppoſition to Revelation and Myſtery. This Letter contributed very much to enflame all ſorts of people againſt Mr. TOLAND. Mr. BROWN repreſented him as *a moſt inveterate enemy to all reveal'd Religion*; a *Knight-errant*; one who *openly affected to be the Head of a Sect*, and *deſign'd to be as famous an Impoſtor as Mahomet:* but being ſenſible that all theſe ſuggeſtions cou'd not hurt his perſon, he did, as much as in him lay, *deliver him into the hands of the civil Magiſtrate.* Mr. BROWN was afterwards made Biſhop of Cork; and I am told Mr. TOLAND uſed to ſay, *he had made him a Biſhop.* It is the ſame perſon, who, becauſe he cou'd not bear, as 'tis preſum'd, that people ſhou'd drink *to the Memory of King* WILLIAM, wrote a Pamphlet againſt drinking to the Memory of any perſon, as being a prophanation of the Lord's Supper; and at laſt, was driven to condemn drinking any Healths at all: for which he had the Authority of the famous WILLIAM PRYNNE, who publiſh'd in 1628, a Book entitled, *Healths Sickneſs: or a compendious and brief diſcourſe, proving the drinking, and pledging of Healths, to be ſinful and utterly unlawful unto Chriſtians*, &c. He had alſo the Authority of JOHN GEREE, M. A. and Paſtor of St. Faith's in London, who put out in 1648 a Pamphlet, call'd: Θειοφαρμακον: *a divine Potion to preſerve ſpiritual Health, by the cure of unnatural Health-drink-*

drinking. Or an exerciſe wherein the Evill of Health-drinking is by clear and ſolid Arguments convinced. Written for the ſatisfaction, and publiſhed by the direction of a godly Parliament-man. But this by the by.

Mr. MOLYNEUX ſent Mr. BROWN's Book to Mr. LOCKE; and in a Letter to him, he makes ſome very judicious reflections both upon that work, and the Grand Jury's proceedings againſt Mr. TOLAND. Mr. TOLAND, *ſays he* (15), " has had his oppoſers here, " as you will find by a Book which I have " ſent you . . . . . . The Author is my acquaintance; but two things I ſhall never " forgive in his Book; the one is, the foul " language and opprobrious names he gives " Mr. TOLAND; the other is, upon ſeveral " occaſions, calling in the aid of the Civil " Magiſtrate, and delivering Mr. TOLAND up " to ſecular Puniſhment. This indeed is a " killing Argument; but ſome will be apt to " ſay, That where the ſtrength of his Reaſon " fail'd him, there he flies to the ſtrength of " the Sword. And this minds me of a buſineſs that was very ſurprizing to many, even " ſeveral Prelates in this place, the Preſentment of ſome pernicious Books, and their " Authors, by the Grand Jury of Middleſex. " This is look'd upon as a matter of dangerous

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(15) July 20, 1697.

" rous conſequence, to make our Civil Courts
" Judges of Religious Doctrines; and no one
" knows, upon a change of Affairs, whoſe
" turn it may be next to be condemn'd. But
" the example has been followed in our
" Country; and Mr. TOLAND, and his Book,
" have been preſented here, by the Grand
" Jury, not one of which (I am perſuaded)
" ever read one leaf in *Chriſtianity not My-*
" *ſterious.* Let the Sorbone for ever now
" be ſilent; a learned Grand Jury, directed
" by as learned a Judge, does the buſineſs
" much better. The Diſſenters here were the
" chief promoters of this matter; but, when
" I asked one of them, what if a violent
" Church of England Jury ſhould preſent
" Mr. BAXTER's Books, as pernicious, and
" condemn them to the flames by the com-
" mon executioner? He was ſenſible of the
" error, and ſaid, *he wiſhed it had never*
" *been done.*"

Mr. TOLAND, it ſeems, was dreaded in Ireland, as a moſt formidable enemy of Chriſtianity, a ſecond GOLIATH, who at the head of the Philiſtines defied the Armies of Iſrael; in ſo much, that, as he relates it himſelf, " in a few days (16) after the Lords Juſtices " of that Kingdom landed, the Recorder of " Dublin, Mr. HANCOCK, in his congratula- " tory Harangue in the name of his Corpo-

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(16) *Apology*, p. 7.

" ration, begg'd their Lordſhips wou'd protect the Church from all its enemies, but " particularly from the TOLANDISTS."

BUT to give the laſt and finiſhing ſtroke to Mr. TOLAND's Book, ſome people concluded to bring it before the Parliament. " And therefore (17) on Saturday the 14th day " of Auguſt, it was mov'd in the Committee " of Religion, that the Book entitul'd, *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, ſhould be brought " before them, and accordingly it was order'd that the ſaid Book ſhould the Saturday following be brought into the Committee. That day the Committee ſat not; " but the next Saturday, which was the 28th " day of Auguſt, there met a very full Committee, wherein this buſineſs was a great " while debated. Several perſons eminent " for their birth, good qualities, or fortunes, " oppos'd the whole Proceeding, being of opinion it was neither proper nor convenient " for them to meddle with a thing of that " nature. But when this point was without " much argument carried againſt them, they " inſiſted that the Paſſages which gave offence " in the Book ſhould be read; and then the " Committee was adjourn'd till the 4th of " September. That day, after ſeveral Gentlemen had ſpoke to the Objections made to " ſome Paſſages in the Book, they urg'd at " laſt

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(17) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23, 24.

“ laſt, according to Mr. TOLAND's own de-
“ ſire, that he ſhould be call'd to anſwer in
“ perſon, to declare the ſenſe of his Book,
“ and his deſign in writing it. But this fa-
“ vour being peremptorily deny'd, an ho-
“ nourable Member went to the Bar, and of-
“ fer'd a Letter to be read which he had re-
“ ceiv'd that morning from Mr. TOLAND,
“ containing what ſatisfaction he intended to
“ give the Committee, had they thought fit
“ to let him ſpeak for himſelf. But this was
“ likewiſe refus'd, and the Committee came
“ immediately to thoſe Reſolutions, to which
“ the Houſe agreed, after ſome Debate on
“ Thurſday following, being the 9th of Sep-
“ tember, viz. *That the Book entitul'd,* Chri-
“ ſtianity not Myſterious, *containing ſeveral*
“ *Heretical Doctrines contrary to the Chri-*
“ *ſtian Religion and the eſtabliſh'd Church*
“ *of Ireland, be publickly burnt by the hands*
“ *of the common Hangman.* Likewiſe, *That*
“ *the Author thereof* JOHN TOLAND *be taken*
“ *into the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms,*
“ *and be proſecuted by Mr. Attorney Gene-*
“ *ral, for writing and publiſhing the ſaid*
“ *Book.* They order'd too, *That an Addreſs*
“ *ſhould be made to the Lords Juſtices to*
“ *give Directions that no more Copies of*
“ *that Book be brought into the Kingdom,*
“ *and to prevent the ſelling of thoſe already*
“ *imported.* Their Sentence was executed on
“ the Book the Saturday following, which
“ was the 11th of September, before the Par-

" liament-Houſe Gate, and alſo in the open " ſtreet before the Town-Houſe; the Sheriffs " and all the Conſtables attending."

UPON this, Mr. TOLAND very wiſely took his way back into England. " Mr. TOLAND, *ſays Mr.* MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE (18), is, at laſt, driven out of " our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman by " his imprudent Management, had raiſed " ſuch an univerſal Outcry, that it was even " dangerous for a man to have been known " once to converſe with him. This made " all men wary of reputation decline ſeeing " him; in ſo much that at laſt he wanted a " meal's-meat (as I am told) and none would " admit him to their tables. The little ſtock " of Money which he brought into this Countrey being exhauſted, he fell to borrowing " from any one that would lend him half a " Crown, and run in debt for his Wigs, " Cloaths, and Lodging, (as I am inform'd;) " and laſt of all, to compleat his hardſhips, the Parliament fell on his Book, " voted it to be burnt by the common hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken " into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and " to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General " at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this " Kingdom, and none here knows where " he has directed his Courſe."

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(18) Sept. 11. 1697.

Dr. SOUTH was ſo well pleas'd with this conduct of the Iriſh Parliament, that he complemented the Archbiſhop of Dublin upon it, in the Dedication of his third Volume of *Sermons*, printed in 1698. After having condemn'd our remiſſneſs here in England, for bearing with Dr. SHERLOCK, whoſe notions of the Trinity he charges with Hereſy; he adds, " But on the contrary amongſt you, " when a certain *Mahometan Chriſtian* (no " new thing of late), notorious for his blaſ- " phemous denial of the *Myſteries* of our " Religion, and his inſufferable virulence " againſt the whole *Chriſtian Prieſthood*, " thought to have found ſhelter amongſt you, " the *Parliament* to their immortal Honour, " preſently ſent him packing, and without " the help of a *Faggot* ſoon made the King- " dom *too Hot* for him."

AS ſoon as he was in London, he publiſh'd an apologetical account of the treatment he had receiv'd in Ireland, intitled: *An Apology for Mr.* TOLAND, *in a Letter from himſelf to a Member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland; written the day before his Book was reſolv'd to be burnt by the Committee of Religion. To which is prefix'd a Narrative containing the occaſion of the ſaid Letter.*

IN the year 1698, after the Peace of Ryſwick, there aroſe a great diſpute among our Politicians, concerning the forces to be kept on foot, for the quiet and ſecurity of the nation. Several Pamphlets came out on that ſubject: ſome for, others againſt, a ſtanding Army. Mr. TOLAND propos'd to reform the Militia, in a Pamphlet, intitled: *The Militia Reformed; or an eaſy Scheme of furniſhing England with a conſtant Land Force, capable to prevent or to ſubdue any forein Power; and to maintain perpetual quiet at home, without endangering the publick Liberty.* In 8°.

THE ſame year he publiſhed the *Life of* JOHN MILTON, which was prefix'd to his *Works* collected together (except the Poetical part) in three volumes in folio; the two firſt containing the Engliſh, and the third the Latin Pieces. It was alſo printed ſeparately in 8°, with this title: *The Life of* JOHN MILTON, *containing, beſides the Hiſtory of his Works, ſeveral extraordinary Characters of Men, of Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions.* There, ſpeaking of MILTON's *Iconoclaſtes,* he not only gave an account of that performance, as his plan required he ſhould; but he thought fit likewiſe to enter upon the Controverſy, that had been lately carry'd on with great heat concerning the Author of *Icon Baſilike,* and to ſum up and enforce the arguments of thoſe who deny'd it to be a production of King CHARLES I. In the cloſe of that digreſſion he ſhew'd by what nice and unforeſeen accidents this *notorious impoſture*, as he calls it, happen'd to be diſcover'd; and from thence took occaſion to make the following obſervation:

"WHEN I ſeriouſly conſider, *ſays he* (19), "how all this happen'd among ourſelves within the compaſs of forty years, in a time of "great Learning and Politeneſs, when both "Parties ſo narrowly watch'd over one another's actions, and what a great Revolution in "civil and religious Affairs was partly occaſion'd by the credit of that Book, I ceaſe to "wonder any longer how ſo many ſuppoſititious pieces under the name of CHRIST, his "Apoſtles, and other great Perſons, ſhould be "publiſhed and approv'd in thoſe primitive "times, when it was of ſo much importance "to have 'em believ'd; when the Cheats were "too many on all ſides for them to reproach "one another, which yet they often did; when "Commerce was not near ſo general as now, "and the whole earth intirely over-ſpread "with the darkneſs of Superſtition. I doubt "rather the Spuriouſneſs of ſeveral more ſuch "Books is yet undiſcover'd, thro' the remoteneſs of thoſe Ages, the death of the Perſons

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(19) *The Life of Mr.* JOHN MILTON, pag. 91. 92.

" concern'd, and the decay of other Monu-
" ments which might give true Information.

THIS paſſage was cenſur'd by Mr. OFSPRING BLACKALL, then Chaplain in ordinary to the King, and afterwards Biſhop of Exceter, in a Sermon preached on the 30th of January following before the Houſe of Commons. After exclaiming againſt the Author of MILTON's *Life* for denying *Icon Baſilike* to be the compoſure of King CHARLES I; he purſued his accuſation in theſe terms: " We
" may ceaſe to wonder *ſays he* (20), that
" he ſhould have the boldneſs, without proof,
" and againſt proof, to deny the Authority
" of this Book, who is ſuch an Infidel as to
" doubt, and is ſhameleſs and impudent e-
" nough, even in print, and in a Chriſtian
" Country, publickly to affront our holy Re-
" ligion, by declaring his doubt, that *ſeveral*
" *Pieces under the Name of* CHRIST *and his*
" *Apoſtles*, (he muſt mean thoſe now receiv'd
" by the whole Chriſtian Church, for I know
" of no other) *are ſuppoſititious*; *tho' thro'*
" *the remoteneſs of thoſe Ages, the Death of*
" *the Perſons concern'd, and the decay of other*
" *Monuments which might give us true Infor-*
" *mation, the ſpuriouſneſs thereof is yet undiſ-*
" *cover'd.*" Thus, Mr. BLACKALL charged Mr. TOLAND with *declaring* that there were *ſeveral*

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(20) *A Sermon preached before the honourable Houſe of Commons, Jan.* 30th, 1698-9. Lond. 1699. pag. 16.

ral Pieces under the name of CHRIST *and his Apoſtles,* the *ſpuriouſneſs* whereof he ſuſpected; and from thence he inferr'd that Mr. TOLAND *muſt mean thoſe now receiv'd by the whole Chriſtian Church,* or the Books of the New Teſtament; becauſe *he,* Mr. BLACKALL, *knew of no other* that went *under the name of* CHRIST *and his Apoſtles.*

Mr. TOLAND thought fit to vindicate himſelf from this imputation of Mr. BLACKALL: and at the ſame time, he undertook to confute the reaſons, which Mr. WAGSTAFFE had alledged, to prove that King CHARLES I. was the true Author of *Icon Baſilike,* in a Pamphlet printed in 1693, with this title: *A Vindication of King* CHARLES *the Martyr, proving that his Majeſty was the Author of* Ἔικων Βασιλικὴ: *againſt a* Memorandum, *ſaid to be written by the Earl of Angleſey; and againſt the Exceptions of Dr.* WALKER, *and others.* In anſwer to both theſe Authors, Mr. TOLAND publiſh'd, *Amyntor: or, a Defence of* MILTON'S *Life. Containing, I. A general Apology for all Writings of that kind. II. A Catalogue of Books attributed in the primitive times to* JESUS CHRIST, *his Apoſtles and other eminent Perſons: With ſeveral important Remarks and Obſervations relating to the Canon of Scripture. III. A compleat Hiſtory of the Book, entitul'd,* Icon Baſilike, *proving Dr.* GAUDEN, *and not King*

CHARLES *the firſt, to be the Author of it: With an Anſwer to the Facts alledg'd by Mr.* WAGSTAF *to the contrary; and to the Exceptions againſt my Lord Angleſey*'s Memorandum, *Dr.* WALKER's *Book, or Mrs.* GAUDEN's *Narrative, which laſt Piece is now the firſt time publiſh'd at large.*

I ſhall not take notice of what Mr. TOLAND obſerves concerning *Icon Baſilike:* the title of his Book expreſſes it ſufficiently. As to Mr. BLACKALL's charge, after having tranſcrib'd the paſſage in the *Life of* MILTON excepted againſt, “ Here then, *ſays he* (21), “ in the firſt place, it is plain, that, I ſay, a “ great many ſpurious Books were early fa-“ ther'd on CHRIST, his Apoſtles, and other “ great Names, part whereof are ſtill acknow-“ ledg'd to be genuin, and the reſt to be forg'd, “ in neither of which Aſſertions I cou'd be “ juſtly ſuppos'd to mean any Books of the “ New Teſtament, as I ſhall preſently evince. “ But Mr. BLACKHALL affirms, That I muſt “ intend *thoſe now receiv'd by the whole* “ *Chriſtian Church, for he knows of no o-*“ *ther*. A cogent Argument truly! and clear-“ ly proves his Logic to be juſt of a piece “ with his Reading . . . . . But had Mr. BLAC-“ KALL been diſpos'd to deal ingenuouſly “ with me, he might ſee, without the help “ of the Fathers, that I did not mean the

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(21) *Amyntor, pag.* 15, *&c.*

" Books of the New Teſtament, when I
" mention'd Suppoſititious Pieces under the
" Name of CHRIST, ſince there is none a-
" ſcrib'd to him in the whole Bible; nor do
" we read any where that he wrote any
" thing . . . . . Now to convince all the
" world that I did not intend by thoſe Pieces
" the Books of the New Teſtament, as well
" as to ſhew the Raſhneſs and Uncharitable-
" neſs of Mr. BLACKHALL's Aſſertion, I ſhall
" here inſert a large Catalogue of Books an-
" ciently aſcribed to JESUS CHRIST, his Apo-
" ſtles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and
" Contemporaries."

THEN he gives *a Catalogue of Books mention'd by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falſely aſcribed to* JESUS CHRIST, *his Apoſtles, and other eminent Perſons:* which, for its exactneſs and accuracy, has been commended by ſeveral learned men abroad, and even by ſome of Mr. TOLAND's Adverſaries at home (22). After having given that Catalogue, he proceeds thus:

" HERE's, *ſays he* (23), a long Liſt for
" Mr. BLACKALL, who, 'tis probable, will
" not think the more meanly of himſelf for
" being unacquainted with theſe Pieces; nor,
" if that were all, ſhould I be forward to think
" the

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(22) That *Catalogue* enlarged and corrected, the Reader will find in this *Collection*, Vol. I. pag. 350.

(23) *Ibid.* pag. 42, &c.

" the worſe of him on this account: but I
" think he is to blame for denying that there
" were any ſuch, becauſe he knew nothing
" of 'em; much leſs ſhould he infer from
" thence, that I deny'd the Scriptures; which
" Scandal however, becauſe manifeſtly proceeding
" from Ignorance, I heartily forgive him,
" as every good Chriſtian ought to do.

" TO explain now therefore the ſeveral
" Members of the Paſſage in MILTON's Life:
" In the firſt place, by the ſpurious Pieces I
" meant, tho' not all, yet a good parcel of
" thoſe Books in the Catalogue, which I am
" perſuaded were partly forged by ſome more
" zealous than diſcreet Chriſtians, to ſupply
" the brevity of the Apoſtolic Memoirs; partly
" by deſigning Men to ſupport their private
" Opinions, which they hop'd to effect by
" virtue of ſuch reſpected Authorities: and
" ſome of 'em, I doubt, were invented by
" Heathens and Jews to impoſe on the Credulity
" of many well-diſpos'd perſons, who
" greedily ſwallow'd any Book for Divine
" Revelation that contain'd a great many Miracles,
" mixt with a few good Morals, while
" their Adverſaries laught in their ſleeves all
" the while, to ſee their tricks ſucceed, and
" were rivetted in their ancient Prejudices by
" the greater Superſtition of ſuch Enthuſiaſts.

" IN the ſecond place, by the Books of
" whoſe ſpuriouſneſs I ſaid the World was

“ not yet convinc’d, tho’ in my private Opini-
“ on I could not think ’em genuin, I meant
“ thoſe of the other great Perſons, or the
“ ſuppos’d Writings of certain Apoſtolic Men
“ (as they call ’em) which are at this preſent,
“ as well as in ancient times, read with ex-
“ traordinary Veneration. And they are the E-
“ piſtle of BARNABAS, the Paſtor of HERMAS,
“ the Epiſtle of POLYCARPUS to the Philippians,
“ the firſt Epiſtle of CLEMENS ROMANUS to the
“ Corinthians, and the ſeven Epiſtles of IG-
“ NATIUS. Theſe are generally receiv’d in the
“ Church of Rome, and alſo by moſt Pro-
“ teſtants; but thoſe of the Church of Eng-
“ land have particularly ſignaliz’d themſelves
“ in their Defence, and by publiſhing the cor-
“ recteſt Impreſſions of them. The Ancients
“ paid them the higheſt reſpect, and reckon’d
“ the firſt four of them eſpecially, as good as
“ any part of the New Teſtament: &c.

Mr. TOLAND’s Defence engaged Mr. BLACKALL to put out a Pamphlet, entitled: *Mr.* BLACKALL’s *Reaſons for not replying to a Book lately publiſhed, entituled,* Amyntor. *In a Letter to a Friend.* I charged Mr. TOLAND, ſays he, with doubting of the Authority of the Books of the New Teſtament: but he declares that he does not mean thoſe Books: therefore we are now agreed; there can be no diſpute between us on that ſubject. “ All
“ that I could ſay to this, *purſues he,* (if I
“ had a mind to reply to this part of his

" Book) would be only to give the world " the Reaſon that made me think, he meant " ſome of the Books of the New Teſtament; " which was this; that he having ſpoken be- " fore of *ſuppoſititious Pieces under the name* " *of* CHRIST *and his Apoſtles*, as well as of " other great Perſons; it was very reaſonable " to think, when immediately after, in the " ſame Period he ſpeaks of *ſeveral more ſuch* " *Books*, the ſpuriouſneſs of which is not yet " diſcover'd, he had meant *ſeveral*, ſome at " leaſt, of all the ſorts before mention'd; " that is, ſome under the name of CHRIST, " and ſome under the name of his Apoſtles, " as well as ſome under the name of the o- " ther great Perſons. For how ſhould I know " what he meant by *ſuch Books*, but by " looking back, and ſeeing what Books he " had ſpoken of before? And finding that " he had there ſpoken, not only of Books " under the name of other great Perſons, but " likewiſe *under the name of* CHRIST *and his* " *Apoſtles*, what could I underſtand by *ſuch* " *Books*, but ſome Books under the name of " CHRIST and his Apoſtles, as well as ſome " under the name of other great Perſons? " And if he did not mean ſo, or would not " have been thought to have meant ſo; " he ought, I think, to have diſtinguiſh'd " and have made that Paſſage which I " excepted againſt, an intire ſentence by " it ſelf; and have ſaid plainly, that tho' " he thought ſome Books ſpurious, which

“ ſome others believed to be genuine, they
“ were only ſome pieces that had been aſcribed
“ to the other great Men, but not any
“ of thoſe that were receiv'd as Pieces of
“ CHRIST or his Apoſtles; and if he had
“ written his mind thus clearly, I ſhould no
“ more have excepted againſt this Paſſage than
“ I did againſt the former.

I leave it to you, SIR, who are an excellent Logician, to judge of the pertinency of this Anſwer. I ſhall only obſerve, that Mr. TOLAND after having thus profeſs'd, that in the aforeſaid paſſage he had no view to the Books of the New Teſtament; he notwithſtanding endeavour'd by ſeveral ſuggeſtions and inſinuations to make the Authority of the preſent Canon ſuſpicious and precarious. But he was anſwer'd by ſome of our Divines; as by Mr. (now Dr.) SAMUEL CLARKE, in a ſmall Tract, intitled: *Some Reflections on that part of a Book called* Amyntor, or the Defence of MILTON's Life, *which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Teſtament. In a Letter to a Friend:* by Mr. STEPHEN NYE in his *Hiſtorical Account and Defence of the Canon of the New Teſtament. In Anſwer to* AMYNTOR: and by Mr. JOHN RICHARDSON, B. D. formerly Fellow of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, in *The Canon of the New Teſtament vindicated; in Anſwer to the Objections of J. T. in his* AMYNTOR.

THAT part of *Amyntor*, which related to *Icon Baſilike*, was anſwer'd by Mr. WAGSTAFFE, in a Pamphlet call'd, *A Defence of the* Vindication *of King* CHARLES *the Martyr; juſtifying his Title to* 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'. *In Anſwer to a late Pamphlet intituled,* Amyntor. *By the Author of the Vindication.* If you deſire to ſee all that Mr. WAGSTAFFE has offer'd with reſpect to this Controverſy, you will find it ſumm'd up and digeſted in the third Edition of his *Vindication*, printed in 1711: *A Vindication of K.* CHARLES *the Martyr: proving that his Majeſty was the Author of* 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ', *Againſt a* Memorandum *ſaid to be written by the Earl of Angleſey; And, againſt the Exceptions of Dr.* WALKER *and others. To which is added a* Preface, *wherein the bold and inſolent Aſſertions, publiſhed in a Paſſage of Mr.* BAYLE's Dictionary, *relating to the preſent Controverſy, are examined and confuted. The third Edition, with large Additions; together with ſome* original Letters *of King* CHARLES *the firſt under his own Hand, never before printed, and faithfully copied from the ſaid Originals.* In the Preface he falls foul upon Mr. BAYLE, and is likewiſe very angry with the Author of his *Life* (ſubjoin'd to the Engliſh Tranſlation of his *Reflections upon the Comets*, printed in 1709) for obſerving that in his *Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*, he relates hiſtorical facts with a perfect diſintereſtedneſs and impartiality. The matter of fact is this. Mr. BAYLE having given an Article of MILTON in the firſt Edition of his Dictionary, when he was about correcting and enlarging it for a ſecond Edition, he was inform'd that Mr. TOLAND had publiſh'd the Life of that celebrated Author, and deſir'd to read it in order to improve that Article. But as he did not underſtand Engliſh, he had ſome Abſtracts made of it in Latin, and took his Additions from them; and among others he gave an account of *Icon Baſilike*, agreeable to Mr. TOLAND's aſſertions, or rather according to the Latin Abſtracts of his Book, which he carefully cites in the margin. And for a further caution, he makes this general Remark, which Mr. WAGSTAFFE has tranſcrib'd in his Preface (24) but with ſome omiſſions whereof I ſhall take notice. "Note, *ſays Mr.* BAYLE, " that in all this, I neither ought, nor can be " conſider'd, but as a mere Tranſcriber of " MILTON's Life publiſh'd in Engliſh". Mr. BAYLE's words are: *comme un ſimple traducteur des extraits Latins que j'ai fait faire du livre Anglois que je cite:* i. e. " as a mere " tranſlator of the Latin Abſtracts I procured " of the Engliſh Book (*Amyntor*) which I cite." " Note alſo, *purſues Mr.* BAYLE, that this " Paſſage of the Life of MILTON has been " oppos'd; for Mr. WAGSTAFFE publiſh'd ſome " Obſervations, to weaken the Teſtimony of

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(24) Pag. xvii, xviii.

“ my Lord ANGLESEY, the Narrative of Dr. “ WALKER, and the Papers of Mr. NORTH. “ But Mr. TOLAND hath refuted them all in “ his *Amyntor*, wherein he hath farther diſ- “ cuſs'd all the Teſtimonies that are alledg'd “ to aſſert the *Icon Baſilike* to King CHARLES “ the firſt. I was told, that as to both theſe “ Parts * of his Apology, he has omitted no- “ thing that was neceſſary to maintain the “ full Evidence of his Proofs, and all the “ ſtrength they appear'd to have before any “ one wrote againſt them. This is all that “ I can ſay, having never read any thing that “ was written againſt him, or what was re- “ plied by him.” The French hath, *n'ayant point lu ce qu'on a fait contre lui, ni ce qu'il a repliqué, & ne le pouvant point entendre, car ce ſont tous livres Anglois*: i. e. “ hav- “ ing never read what was written againſt “ him, nor what was reply'd by him, and “ not being able to underſtand it, for all “ theſe Books are in Engliſh.

AND now, SIR, I appeal to your equity, whether Mr. BAYLE cou'd have acted in this matter with more caution, impartiality, and diſintereſtedneſs? But it may be ask'd why did he not give an account of Mr. WAGSTAFFE's Anſwer? Why, truly, becauſe he had it not, and was aſſured by perſons, who

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* That is to ſay, the Anſwer to the Objections of Mr. WAGSTAFFE, and the Anſwer to the direct Proofs alledg'd by the Partizans of King CHARLES.

ſeem'd to him proper judges, that there was not much in it. Beſides, whatever good opinion Mr. WAGSTAFFE might have of his own performance, he ought not to expect that Mr. BAYLE would enter into the bottom of that Controverſy, without verifying his quotations, comparing the Arguments of both ſides, and conſequently, having all the Pamphlets publiſh'd on that occaſion tranſlated into Latin. But on the other ſide, why did Mr. WAGSTAFFE leave out of the aforeſaid paſſage, this material circumſtance, that Mr. BAYLE declares he did not underſtand Engliſh, and was oblig'd to procure ſome Latin Abſtracts of Mr. TOLAND's Book? Was he afraid it would not have ſerv'd his turn? In ſhort, if he was ſo tender on that point, why did he not ſend him a Latin Tranſlation of his two Pamphlets, to be made uſe of in the Supplement of his Dictionary? The ſecond Edition of that Dictionary came out in the beginning of the year 1702, and Mr. BAYLE liv'd five years longer; why did he chuſe to raiſe all this Clamour, and endeavour to aſperſe and blacken his Memory nine or ten years after, in 1711?

BUT to give you a ſpecimen of Mr. WAGSTAFFE's temper, accuracy, and judgment, I will tranſcribe here what he ſays on occaſion of PAMELA's Prayer. Mr. BAYLE, *ſays he,* (25) "has

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(26) Preface, pag. xxiii.

" has given PAMELA's Prayer at large, com-
" par'd it with the *Arcadia*, and ſet down
" in two Columns one againſt another; and
" to what purpoſe was this inſerted ..... He
" ſays indeed, that MILTON *made a great*
" *noiſe about it*, and that is true; but what
" follows, that MILTON *plac'd that Parallel*
" *at the end of his Anſwer*, is a plain and
" notorious Falſhood; for MILTON himſelf,
" placed neither the Prayer nor the Parallel
" at the end of his Anſwer, but Mr. TOLAND
" plac'd them there many years after MIL-
" TON's Death. So that in this ſhort Para-
" graph, we have abundant Evidences, not
" only of his Negligence, Partiality and Ma-
" lice, but of his Unaccurateneſs alſo; each
" of which ſits very heavy on his Character."

THIS is a heinous Charge indeed, brought in with great confidence; but you'll preſently ſee that there is not the leaſt foundation for it. Mr. WAGSTAFFE repreſents Mr. BAYLE as grounding his aſſertion upon the Engliſh Original of MILTON's *Iconoclaſtes*; whereas he made uſe of a French Tranſlation of that Book, printed in 1652, by DU GARD, and he gives the title of it at large. The two Prayers, he tranſcrib'd out of that Tranſlation, wherein they are ſet in two Parallel Columns; and in the margin he refers to the page where they are to be found, thus: MILTON, *pag. m.* 24. *de l'Iconoclaſtes*. Moreover, at the end of the two Prayers, he gives a ſhort Advertiſement of the French Tranſlator relating to Pamela's Prayer. He took for granted that this Tranſlation was agreeable to the Original; and if he was miſled by the Tranſlator, how could he help it? There is greater reaſon to wonder, how Mr. Wagstaffe could overlook all theſe particulars: and one might, I fear, retort his own words upon him, and obſerve *that in this ſhort Paragraph we have abundant Evidences, not only of his Negligence, Partiality, and Malice, but of his Unaccurateneſs alſo.*

I ſhall make no Apology for this Digreſſion. I know that Mr. Bayle had a great ſhare in your eſteem; and don't doubt but you'll be pleas'd to ſee juſtice done to his Memory. This task properly belong'd to the Author of his *Life,* as being more particularly concern'd: but ſince he hath thought fit to be ſilent, I was glad to find this occaſion to vindicate ſo great a Man as Mr. Bayle. Let us now return to Mr. Toland.

IN the ſame year (25) 1699, he publiſh'd the *Memoirs of Denzil Lord* Holles, *Baron of Ifield in Suſſex, from the year* 1641 *to* 1648. The Manuſcript was put into his hands by the late Duke of Newcastle, who was one of his patrons and benefactors; and he dedicated them to his Grace. He did likewiſe prefix a Preface.

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(25) The Author of theſe Memoirs might have obſerv'd, that this year Mr. Toland took a turn into Holland, as it appears by ſome Letters in this *Collection.* See Vol. II. pag. 333, 335.

IN 1700, he publiſh'd HARRINGTON's *Oceana*, with ſome other Pieces of that ingenious Author, which had not been yet printed: *The Oceana of* JAMES HARRINGTON, *and his other Works, ſome whereof are now firſt publiſh'd from his own Manuſcripts. The whole collected, methodiz'd, and review'd, with an exact account of his Life prefix'd, by* JOHN TOLAND. In folio.

HE cloſes the Preface, with giving notice that this Life of HARRINGTON ſhall be the laſt Life but one, which he intends to write of any modern perſon. "As for myſelf, "*ſays he*, tho no employment or condition "of life ſhall make me diſreliſh the laſting "entertainment which Books afford; yet I "have reſolv'd not to write the Life of any "modern Perſon again, except that only of "one Man ſtill alive, and who in the ordi-"nary courſe of nature I am like to ſurvive "a long while, he being already far advanc'd "in his declining time, and I but this pre-"ſent day beginning the thirtieth year of my "age." That Preface being dated, November 30, 1699; we find here the preciſe time of his birth.

IN the concluſion of the Life, he makes the following Declaration: "If I write, *ſays* "*he*, any thing hereafter (either as oblig'd "by duty, or to amuſe idle time) I have de"termin'd it ſhall not concern perſonal Diſ"putes, or the narrow intereſts of jarring "Factions, but ſomething of univerſal bene"fit, and which all ſides may indifferently "read. Without ſuch provocations as no "man ought to endure, this is my fix'd re"ſolution; and I particularly deſire that none "may blame me for acting otherwiſe, who "force me to do ſo themſelves." This he ſaid, I ſuppoſe, with reſpect to the diſputes he had been ingaged in. How he kept this reſolution, will appear in the ſequel.

ABOUT the ſame time, came out a Pamphlet, intitled, *Clito, a Poem on the force of Eloquence.* The Editor tells us, that Mr. TOLAND is the Author of it, and that he is underſtood in the Poem by ADEISIDÆMON, which ſignifies *unſuperſtitious.* The plan of that Piece is this. CLITO asks ADEISIDÆMON how far the force of Eloquence can go,

To teach Mankind thoſe Truths which
they miſtake,
And who the noble Task durſt undertake?

Adeisidæmon undertakes that taſk, and tells him all the great and ſurprizing things he can perform, even with reſpect to religious matters :

Nor will I here deſiſt : all holy Cheats
Of all Religions ſhall partake my Threats,
Whether with ſable Gowns they ſhew their
Pride,
Or under Cloaks their Knavery they hide,
Or whatſoe'er diſguiſe they chuſe to wear,
To gull the People, while their Spoils they
ſhare, &c.

THIS Piece was animadverted upon in a Letter, written, as it ſeems, by a Clergy-man, and publiſh'd with another Letter of the ſame Author againſt Fuller : *Mr.* Toland's Clito *diſſected : and* Fuller's *plain Proof of the true Mother of the pretended Prince of Wales made out to be no proof. In two Letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London.* His Remarks are very ſevere, not to ſay abuſive ; as you may judge by the following paſſage : " As for the Name " of the Poem, *ſays he* (27), how he comes " to call it Clito, or, *the force of Elo-* " *quence*, when he himſelf, not his pretend- " ed Friend, acts the Orator, I know not, " and it looks ſomething like a miſtake. Had

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(27) Pag. 2, 3.

“ he given it the Heatheniſh name of To-
“ LAND, or ADEISIDEMON, I am apt to
“ think this abominable iſſue of his brain
“ would have had a more ſignificant appella-
“ tion. And tho CLITO be too good a
“ Name, for a perſon who has any intimacy
“ with a Man of his Character, yet I muſt
“ join with him in approving his choice of
“ ADEISIDEMON for himſelf; which is in
“ downright Engliſh (not Unſuperſtitious, as
“ he terms it) but *one that fears neither*
“ *God nor Devil.*”

IN the beginning of the year 1701, he publiſh'd a Book, intitled, *The Art of Governing by Parties: particularly in Religion, in Politicks, in Parliament, on the Bench, and in the Miniſtry; with the ill effects of Parties on the People in general, the King in particular, and all our foren Affairs*; *as well as on our Credit and Trade, in Peace or War*, &c. His name no where appears in this Book, which he dedicated to the King, with this pretty ſingular Inſcription: *To* WILLIAM III. *King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland: Statholder of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overyſſel: ſupreme Magiſtrat of the two moſt potent and flouriſhing Commonwealths in the Univerſe.* In the firſt Chapter, he obſerves, that “ till the acceſſion of the STUARTS to
“ the Imperial Throne of this Realm, we
“ never knew *the Art of Governing by Par-*

“ *ties.* It was ſet on foot among us by the
“ firſt of that Race, and was daily improv-
“ ing under his Succeſſor, till at laſt it fa-
“ tally turn'd on himſelf, and depriv'd him
“ both of his Crown and Life. But becauſe
“ *ſays he,* this execrable Policy was brought
“ to perfection under CHARLES II, I ſhall
“ diſplay ſome of its worſt effects in his
“ Reign, and the diſmal influence it has on
“ all our Affairs ev'n at this time.

ABOUT the ſame time Mr. TOLAND put out a Pamphlet, call'd, *Propoſitions for uniting the two Eaſt-India Companies: in a Letter to a Man of Quality, who deſir'd the Opinion of a Gentleman not concerned in either Company.* In 4°.

IN March following, Mr. TOLAND being inform'd that the lower Houſe of Convocation had appointed a Committee to examine Books lately publiſh'd againſt the Chriſtian Religion, or the eſtabliſh'd Church of England, and that his *Chriſtianity not Myſterious* and his *Amyntor* were under the conſideration of that Committee; he writ two Letters to Dr. HOOPER, Prolocutor of the lower Houſe of Convocation, either to give ſuch ſatisfaction as ſhould induce them to ſtop their proceedings, or deſiring to be heard in his own defence before they paſs'd any Cenſure on his Writings. But “ the lower

" Houſe (28), without Conſultation with the " Biſhops, without expecting the King's Li" cenſe, and without any regard to the two " Letters he ſent 'em, came to formal Re" ſolutions about *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*; " and on the Report of the Committee ap" pointed, they did, about the twentieth of " March, ſend a *Repreſentation* to the Biſhops, " praying their Lordſhip's *Concurrence to their* " *Reſolutions*, with *their Advice and Direc*" *tions what effectual Courſe might be taken* " *to ſuppreſs this Book and all other pernicious* " *Books already written againſt the Truth* " *of the Chriſtian Religion, and to prevent* " *the Publication of the like for the future.*" At the ſame time, they extracted five Poſitions out of that Book, and their Reſolutions contain'd, that *in their Judgment*, *the ſaid Book is of pernicious Principles, of dangerous Conſequence to the Chriſtian Religion, written on a deſign (as they conceive) and tending to ſubvert the Fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Faith*: that *the Poſitions extracted out of it are, together with diverſe others of the ſame nature, pernicious, dangerous, ſcandalous, and deſtructive of the Chriſtian Faith.*

THIS Repreſentation they ſent to the Upper Houſe, which did likewiſe appoint a Committee of Biſhops to examine Mr. TOLAND's

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(28) *Vindicius Liberius*, p. 48.

Book: and they found therein ſeveral Poſitions, as they conceiv'd, of dangerous conſequence, and one in particular, which they look'd on as the foundation of all the reſt, of which the lower Houſe had not taken notice. Upon the Report of the Committee of the Biſhops to the Upper Houſe, they were all unanimouſly of opinion to proceed (as far as legally they could go) againſt the Book and the Author: but they alſo agreed before hand to adviſe with Council Learned in the Law. Which being done, "their Lordſhips "(29) in Anſwer to that Part of the *Repre*-"*ſentation* which concern'd a *Cenſure*, de-"clared (April the eighth) that *on their con*-"*ſulting with Council learned in the Law* "*concerning heretical, impious, or immoral* "*Books, and particularly concerning this* "*Book ſent up to them from the lower* "*Houſe, they do not find, how, without a* "*Licence from the King* (*which they had* "*not yet receiv'd*) *they cou'd have ſufficient* "*Authority to cenſure judicially any ſuch* "*Books: but on the contrary they were advi*-"*ſed that by ſo doing both Houſes of Convoca*-"*tion might incur the Penalties of the Statute* "*of* 25 *of H.*8. And this opinion their Lordſhips "received from able Lawyers after deſiring "their Reſolution of theſe two Queſtions; "Firſt, *Whether the Convocation's giving* "*an Opinion concerning a Book that is he*-

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(29) *Ibid.* p. 49, 50, 51.

“ *retical, impious, and immoral, is contrary* “ *to any Law?* To which they receiv'd an “ Anſwer in the Affirmative: Secondly, “ *Whether the Poſitions* (they had extracted “ out of *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*) *were* “ *ſuch an opinion as is contrary to any Law?* “ to which it was anſwer'd in the Negative. “ Nor did they content themſelves with this “ Advice, but they inquir'd beſides what had “ been formerly done in ſuch Caſes, and “ found that on a Complaint being exhibited “ againſt ſome Books by the lower to the “ upper Houſe, in the year 1689, the Learned “ in both the Laws were of Opinion they “ cou'd not proceed judicially in ſuch Matters.”

AFTER the Death of the Duke of Glocester, it was thought neceſſary to make a further proviſion for the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line. Accordingly in June 1701, an *Act* was paſs'd *for the further Limitation of the Crown*, by ſettling it, after the deceaſe of King WILLIAM and the Princeſs ANNE of Denmark, and for default of their Iſſue, upon the Princeſs SOPHIA, Electreſs and Dutcheſs Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of her body being Proteſtants: and in the ſame Act a proviſion was likewiſe made *for better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects.* Mr. TOLAND publiſh'd on that occaſion a Book, intitled, *Anglia Libera: or, the Limitation and Succeſ-*

ſion of the Crown of England explain'd and aſſerted; as grounded on his Majeſty's Speech; the Proceedings in Parliament; the Deſires of the People; the Safety of our Religion; the Nature of our Conſtitution; the Balance of Europe; and the Rights of Mankind. He gives the plan or deſign of this Book, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Duke of NEWCASTLE. "The new *Limitations of the Crown,* " *ſays he,* are the ſubject of the following " Diſcourſe, which is written, firſt, to con" vince our own People of their future ſafe" ty againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power; " and that his preſent Majeſty has not only " made us a freer Nation than he found us, " but has alſo rais'd our Liberty to a degree " ſcarce to be exceeded by all his ſucceſſors: " Secondly, to ſhow all perſons both at home " and abroad, that the Proceedings of the " Parliament on this occaſion are agreeable " to the Principles of Juſtice and the ends of " all good Government, as well as according to " the conſtant practice of this Kingdom: And " thirdly, to acquaint the Houſe of Hanover " with the true nature of their Title, and the " frame of that Government to which they " are like to ſucceed; what confidence our " People repoſe in their Virtues from his " Majeſty's Recommendation; how alive they " may command the Love of their Subjects, " and when dead enjoy the Veneration of all " Poſterity."

THE King having ſent the late Earl of MACCLESFIELD to Hanover with the Act of Succeſſion, Mr. TOLAND took this opportunity to go thither. He preſented his *Anglia Libera* to her Electoral Highneſs the Princeſs SOPHIA, and was (30) the firſt who had the honour of kneeling and kiſſing her Hand on account of the Act of Succeſſion. The Earl of MACCLESFIELD was pleas'd to recommend him, particularly to Her Highneſs. Mr. TOLAND ſtay'd there five or ſix weeks: and upon his departure, their Highneſſes the Electreſs Dowager, and the Elector, were pleas'd to preſent him with ſeveral Gold Medals, as a princely acknowledgment for the Book he had wrote about the Succeſſion, in defence of their title and family. Her Highneſs condeſcended to give him likewiſe the Pictures of herſelf, the Elector, the young Prince, and of her Majeſty the Queen of Pruſſia, done in oil colours. The Earl of MACCLESFIELD in his return, waited upon the King at Loo, and gave an Account of his Negotiation to his Majeſty. "There, *ſays Mr.* TOLAND (31), he preſented me to kiſs his "Majeſty's Hand, and took off thoſe impreſ"ſions which might have been made upon "him, by ſome of them who endeavour'd "to prepoſſeſs him againſt thoſe that were

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(30) See the *Account of the Court of Hanover*, p. m. 49, 63, 69. and *Vindicius Liberius*, p. 154, 155.

(31) *An Account*, &c. p. 64.

" the moſt zealous for his ſervice, and the
" moſt faithful in his Intereſts. My Lord
" himſelf went with a prejudice againſt me
" to Hanover, where he was throughly undeceiv'd,
" and became my hearty Patron, till
" juſt on his going home he was remov'd by
" death from the ſervice of his country and
" his friends.

ON the 11th of November, a Proclamation was iſſued out diſſolving the preſent Parliament, and calling another to meet the 30th of December. While the Candidates were making intereſt in their reſpective Counties, Mr. TOLAND publiſh'd the following Advertiſement in the Poſt-Man (32): *There having been a public Report as if Mr.* TOLAND *ſtood for Blechingley in Surry, 'tis thought fit to advertiſe that Sir* ROBERT CLAYTON *has given his Intereſt in that Borough to an eminent Citizen; and that Mr.* TOLAND *hath no thoughts of ſtanding there or any where elſe.* This Advertiſement afforded matter of pleaſantry to an anonymous Writer, who publiſh'd a little Pamphlet, intitled: *Modeſty miſtaken: or, a Letter to Mr.* TOLAND, *upon his declining to appear in the enſuing Parliament.* He begins his Letter thus: " Amongſt
" all the News of this buſy Seaſon,
" no report has affected me ſo peculiarly,

" as

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(32) *The Poſt-Man*, from November 18, to November 20, 1701.

“ as that of your Inclination to fill a ſeat in
“ the Grand approaching Council; for I am
“ perſuaded, that not only our Civil Intereſt,
“ but our Religion has ſome dependance on
“ the Iſſue of the next Debates; and I have
“ long known your Talents, whether in Po-
“ liticks or Theology, to be ſo weighty, as
“ to qualify you at once for a Good Old
“ *Committee Man*, and for a Member of that
“ *Healing Synod*, the *Aſſembly of Divines.*
“ It was with this double juſtice to your
“ Merit that I lately confounded an Acade-
“ mical Fop; who ſpeaking of your Book-
“ learn'd Antagoniſt, the late Biſhop of *Wor-*
“ *ceſter*, and gravely ſtyling him *a Body of*
“ *Divinity*, was by me given to underſtand,
“ that what the Biſhop had in *Profundity*,
“ Mr. TOLAND made out in *Latitude*; and
“ that if the one was *Corpus Theologiæ*, the
“ other was *Tractatus-theologico-politicus*:
“ &c.

THE King's Speech at the opening of the Parliament gave Mr. TOLAND occaſion to publiſh, *Paradoxes of State, relating to the preſent juncture of affairs in England and the reſt of Europe; chiefly grounded on his Majeſty's princely, pious, and moſt gracious Speech.* 1702, 4°.

SOON after he put out another Pamphlet, containing, I. *Reaſons for addreſſing his Majeſty to invite into England their Highneſſes,*

neſſes, the Electreſs Dowager and the Electoral Prince of Hanover: And likewiſe, II. *Reaſons for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others pretending any claim, right, or title from the late King* JAMES *and Queen* MARY. *With Arguments for making a vigorous War againſt France.* 1702, 4°.

THIS was writ againſt by LUKE MILBURN, in a Pamphlet call'd, *An Anſwer to* Mr. TOLAND's *Reaſons for addreſſing his Majeſty to invite into England their Highneſſes, the Electreſs Dowager and the Electoral Prince of Hanover. And alſo to his Reaſons for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales,* &c. 1702, 4°.

Mr. TOLAND had the ſatisfaction to ſee that the Parliament paſs'd *an Act for the Attainder of the pretended Prince of* WALES *of High Treaſon*: and another *Act for the further Security of his Majeſty's perſon, and the Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and all other Pretenders and their open and ſecret abettors,* which enjoin'd the taking an *Oath of Abjuration* of the Pretender. The King gave his Royal Aſſent to theſe two Acts by Commiſſion, on the 2d and 7th of March, and died on the 8th of the ſame month.

THE difference which had happen'd the year before between the two Houſes of Convocation, on account of their Juriſdiction, having occaſion'd ſeveral Pamphlets, wherein a relation was given of their Proceedings againſt *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*; and Mr. TOLAND finding himſelf ill us'd in thoſe that were written in favour of the Lower Houſe; he publiſh'd, *Vindicius Liberius: or, Mr.* TOLAND's *Defence of himſelf, againſt the Lower Houſe of Convocation and others; wherein (beſides his Letters to the Prolocutor) certain Paſſages of the Book, intitul'd* Chriſtianity not Myſterious *are explain'd, and others Corrected: with a full and clear Account of the Author's Principles relating to Church and State; and a Juſtification of the Whigs and Common-wealths-men, againſt the Miſrepreſentations of all their Oppoſers.* 1702. 8°.

AFTER the publication of this Book, Mr. TOLAND went to the Courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was receiv'd very graciouſly by the Princeſs SOPHIA, and by the Queen of PRUSSIA: two Princeſſes, who for the delicacy of their Wit, the ſolidity of their Judgment, and the ſublimity of their Genius, will ever be accounted the glory of the fair Sex. The moſt abſtruſe points of Philoſophy were no more than a matter of diverſion to them; and they delighted in converſing about 'em, with men of wit and penetration, whoſe notions were new or uncommon. Mr. TOLAND had the honour to be often admitted into their Converſation: and as he made a longer ſtay at Berlin than at Hanover, ſo he had frequent opportunities of waiting upon the Queen, who took a pleaſure in asking him queſtions, and hearing his paradoxical Opinions. This gave him occaſion to write ſome Pieces, which he preſented to her Majeſty. There he writ likewiſe a Relation of the Courts of Pruſſia and Hanover.

AFTER his return into England, he put out in 1704, ſome Philoſophical Letters, three of which were inſcribed to SERENA, that is the Queen of Pruſſia, who, he aſſures us, was pleas'd to ask his Opinion concerning the ſubjects of them: *Letters to* SERENA: *containing*, I. *The Origin and Force of Prejudices:* II. *The Hiſtory of the Soul's Immortality among the Heathens.* III. *The Origin of Idolatry, and Reaſons of Heatheniſm. As alſo*, IV. *A Letter to a Gentleman in Holland, ſhowing* SPINOZA's *Syſtem of Philoſophy to be without any Principle or Foundation.* V. *Motion eſſential to Matter; in anſwer to ſome Remarks by a Noble Friend on the Confutation of* SPINOZA. *To all which is prefix'd, a Preface; being a Letter to a Gentleman in London, ſent together with the foregoing Diſſertations, and declaring the ſeveral Oc-*

caſions of writing them. Theſe Letters were animadverted upon by Mr. WOTTON, in a Pamphlet, call'd, *A Letter to* EUSEBIA, *occaſioned by Mr.* TOLAND'*s Letters to* SERENA.

AT the ſame time he publiſh'd an Engliſh Tranſlation of the *Life of Æſop* by Monſieur DE MEZIRIAC, and dedicated it to ANTHONY COLLINS Eſq. It was prefix'd to the Fables of Æſop. *The Fables of Æſop: with the moral Reflexions of Monſieur* BAUDOIN. *Tranſlated from the French. To which is prefix'd by another hand; The true Life of Æſop, by the moſt learned and noble Critick Monſieur* DE MEZIRIAC, *proving by unqueſtionable Authorities, that* ÆSOP *was an ingenious, eloquent, and comely perſon, a Courtier and Philoſopher; contrary to the fabulous Relation of the Monk* PLANUDES, *who makes him ſtupid, ſtammering, a buffoon, and monſtrouſly deform'd.*

IN the year 1705, he publiſh'd the following Pieces:

SOCINIANISM *truly ſtated: being an example of fair dealing in Theological Controverſys. To which is prefix'd, Indifference in Diſputes: recommended by a Pantheiſt to an Orthodox friend.* A Pamphlet n4°.

AN *Account of the Courts of Pruſſia and Hanover: ſent to a Miniſter of State in Holland*; dedicated to the Duke of Somerſet. This Account was tranſlated into French, Dutch, and High-Dutch. Two Letters were publiſh'd againſt it, in Dutch: and indeed, 'tis but an indifferent performance.

THE *Ordinances, Statutes, and Privileges of the Royal Academy, erected by his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, in his capital City of Berlin. Tranſlated from the Original.*

THE *Memorial of the State of England, in Vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Adminiſtration: deſign'd to rectify the mutual Miſtakes of Proteſtants, and to unite their Affections in defence of our Religion and Liberty.* This was publiſh'd without the name of the Author, by the direction of Mr. HARLEY, Secretary of State, and one of his Patrons and Benefactors, againſt the *Memorial of the Church of England*, written by Counſellor POOLEY and Dr. DRAKE, with a deſign to prejudice and influence the People in the Election of the enſuing Parliament, by repreſenting the then Whig Adminiſtration as contriving the Deſtruction of the Church, and countenancing its greateſt enemies.

Mr. TOLAND's Book was animadverted upon by THOMAS RAULINS Eſq; one of his intimate friends, in a *Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the State of England*, which contain'd ſeveral reflections againſt the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's Conduct the preceding Campaign, as well as againſt Mr. HARLEY. This Pamphlet did very much exaſperate them; and Mr. WILLIAM STEPHENS, Rector of Sutton in Surrey, being found the Publiſher of it, and refuſing to be an evidence againſt Mr. RAULINS, he was ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory: but that ſentence was afterwards remitted.

Mr. TOLAND was directed to anſwer Mr. RAULINS's Letter; whereupon he compos'd another Pamphlet, intitled: *A Defence of her Majeſty's Adminiſtration: particularly, againſt the notorious forgeries and calumnies with which his Grace the Duke of* MARLBOROUGH, *and the right honourable Mr. Secretary* HARLEY, *are ſcandalouſly defam'd and aſpers'd in a late ſcurrilous Invective, entituled,* " A Letter to the Author " of the Memorial of the State of England." This Anſwer was immediately put to the preſs: but for ſome particular reaſons it was ſuppreſs'd, when ſix or ſeven ſheets were already printed.

Mr. HARLEY having accidentally found, among ſome other Manuſcripts, a Piece call'd, *Oratio ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos*, he communicated it to Mr. TOLAND, who publiſh'd it in the beginning of the year 1707, with this title: *Oratio Philippica ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos; maximè verò, nè de Pace cum victis praematurè agatur: ſanctiori Anglorum Concilio exhibita, Anno a Chriſto nato* 1514. *Authore Matthaeo Cardinale Sedunenſi; qui Gallorum ungues non reſecandos, ſed penitùs evellendos eſſe voluit. Publicâ luce, Diatribâ praeliminari, & Annotationibus donavit* JOANNES TOLANDUS. He publiſh'd it at the ſame time in Engliſh.

SOON after, he put out *The Elector Palatine's Declaration, lately publiſh'd, in favour of his Proteſtant Subjects, and notify'd to her Majeſty. To which is prefix'd, An impartial Account of the Cauſes of thoſe Innovations and Grievances about Religion, which are now ſo happily redreſs'd by his Electoral Highneſs.* This he publiſh'd at the requeſt of the Elector Palatine's Miniſter, who at that time had ſome particular reaſons to make himſelf acceptable to his Maſter: for he deſired to be raiſed from the title of Reſident to that of Envoy. Accordingly being inform'd by Mr. TOLAND, with whom he was intimately acquainted, of his deſign of going into Germany, he encourag'd him to wait upon the Elector, and gave him Inſtructions concerning the management of this Affair.

Mr. TOLAND ſet out for Germany towards the middle of the Spring. He went firſt to Berlin : but an incident, too ludicrous to be mentioned in theſe Memoirs, oblig'd him to leave that place ſooner than he expected. From thence he went to Hanover, where he found that they were not pleas'd with ſome Obſervations he had made in his *Account of the Court of Hanover*, on the territories of a neighbouring Prince. He proceeded to Duſſeldorp, and was very graciouſly receiv'd by his Electoral Highneſs, who, in conſideration of the Engliſh Pamphlet he had publiſh'd, preſented him with a Golden Chain and Medal, and a purſe of a hundred Ducats. He went afterwards to Vienna, being commiſſion'd by a famous French Banker, then in Holland, who wanted a powerful protection, to engage the Imperial Miniſters to procure him the title of *Count of the Empire*, for which he was ready to pay a good ſum of money : but they did not think fit to meddle with that affair, and all his attempts proved unſucceſsful. From Vienna he viſited Prague in Bohemia, where the Iriſh Franciſcans gave him the Teſtimonial above-mention'd. And now his money being all ſpent, he was forced to make a hard ſhift to get back to Holland, where he ſtay'd till the year 1710.

BEING at the Hague, he publiſh'd in 1709. a Volume containing two Latin Diſſertations: the firſt he call'd, *Adeiſidaemon, ſive Titus Livius à ſuperſtitione vindicatus. In qua Diſſertatione probatur, Livium Hiſtoricum in Sacris, Prodigiis, & Oſtentis Romanorum enarrandis, haudquaquam fuiſſe credulum aut ſuperſtitioſum; ipſamque ſuperſtitionem non minùs Reipublicæ* (*ſi non magis*) *exitioſam eſſe, quàm purum putum Atheiſmum. Autore* J. TOLANDO. He prefix'd to it, *Epiſtola* (*quæ Præfationis vices ſupplere poſſit*) *ad Do.* ANTONIUM COLLINUM *Armigerum, non magis integritate morum quàm ingenii dotibus conſpicuum virum*. The ſecond Diſſertation bears the title of, *Origines Judaicae: ſive, Strabonis de Moyſe & Religione Judaica Hiſtoria, breviter illuſtrata.* In this Diſſertation he gives us STRABO's paſſage in Greek and Latin, with his Obſervations upon it, wherein he ſeems to prefer the Account of that Pagan Author concerning MOSES and the Jewiſh Religion, before the Teſtimony of the Jews themſelves: a moſt extravagant imagination! In the ſame Diſſertation, he ridicules HUETIUS, who in his *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, affirms that ſome eminent perſons recorded in the Old Teſtament are allegoriz'd in the Heatheniſh Mythology; that MOSES, for inſtance, is underſtood

ſtood by the name of BACCHUS, TYPHO, SILENUS, PRIAPUS, and ADONIS. And here Mr. TOLAND does not ſeem to be much in the wrong. However, HUETIUS was greatly provok'd at this attack; and he expreſs'd his reſentment in a French *Letter*, firſt publiſh'd in the Journal of Trevoux, and afterwards printed with ſome *Diſſertations* of HUETIUS, collected by Abbot TILLADET (33).

THESE two Diſſertations of Mr. TOLAND were anſwered by Monſieur LA FAYE, Miniſter at Utrecht, in a Book printed in 1709, call'd, *Defenſio Religionis, nec non Moſis & gentis Judaicæ contra duas Diſſertationes* Jo. TOLANDI, *quarum una inſcribitur*, Adeiſidaemon; *altera vero*, Antiquitates Judaicae: and by Monſieur BENOIST, Miniſter at Delft, in his *Mélange de Remarques Critiques, Hiſtoriques, Philoſophiques, Theologiques, ſur les deux Diſſertations de Mr.* TOLAND, *intitulées, l'une:* l'Homme ſans Superſtition, *& l'autre*; les Origines Judaïques, *&c.* Printed at Delft 1712.

HE likewiſe put out at Amſterdam in 1709, a ſecond Edition of *Oratio Philippica* &c: to which he ſubjoin'd an Invective againſt the Author of a Rhapſody publiſh'd monthly at Paris, under the title of *Mercure Galant*, wherein, as you may eaſily gueſs, the Conduct of the Allies, as well as their reſpective intereſts, were repreſented with a notorious partiality: *Gallus Aretalogus, odium orbis & ludibrium: ſive Gallantis Mercurii gallantiſſimus ſcriptor vapulans.*

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(33) See above, pag. v.

IN the beginning of 1710 he publiſh'd without his name, a French Pamphlet relating to Dr. SACHEVERELL: *Lettre d'un Anglois à un Hollandois, au ſujet du Docteur* SACHEVERELL, *preſentement en arrêt par ordre des Communes de la Grande Bretagne; & accuſé de hauts Crimes & Malverſations à la Barre des Seigneurs.* In 4°.

WHILE he was in Holland, he had the good fortune to get acquainted with Prince EUGENE of Savoy, who gave him ſeveral marks of his Generoſity.

AFTER his return to England he put out, in 1711, *The Deſcription of Epſom, with the Humours and Politicks of that Place: in a Letter to* EUDOXA (34). *There is added, A Tranſlation of four Letters out of* PLINY. Theſe four Letters he publiſh'd, as a Specimen of the Tranſlation he was making

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(34) That *Deſcription* is inſerted in this *Collection*, Vol. II. pag. 91. but with ſo many Corrections, Additions, and Notes, that it is in ſome meaſure, a new work; and for that reaſon Mr. TOLAND call'd it, *A new Deſcription of Epſom.*

making of PLINY's *Letters*: but how far he carried that deſign, I cannot tell (35).

THE year following he publiſh'd:

A Letter againſt Popery: particularly againſt admitting the Authority of Fathers or Councils in Controverſies of Religion: by SOPHIA CHARLOTTE *the late Queen of Pruſſia. Being an Anſwer to a Letter written to her Majeſty by Father* VOTA, *an Italian Jeſuit, Confeſſor to King* AUGUSTUS. *There is prefix'd by the Publiſher, a Letter containing the occaſion of the Queen's writing, and an Apology for the Church of England.*

HER *Majeſty's Reaſons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a Peer of this Realm* (36): *or, the Preamble to his Patent as Duke of Cambridge. In Latin and Engliſh; with Remarks upon the ſame.* In 4°.

THE *grand Myſtery laid open: namely, by dividing of the Proteſtants to weaken the Hanover Succeſſion, and by defeating the Succeſſion to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion. To which is added, The Sacredneſs of Parliamentary Securities, againſt thoſe, who wou'd indirectly this year, or more indirectly the*

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(35) All the Letters he has tranſlated are in this *Collection*, Vol. II. pag. 48.

(36) In the year 1706.

the next (if they live ſo long) attack the publick funds.

AT that time, he undertook to publiſh a new Edition of CICERO's Works by Subſcription, and gave an account of his plan in a Diſſertation, entitled: *Cicero illuſtratus, Diſſertatio Philologico-Critica: ſive Concilium de toto edendo Cicerone, alia planè methodo quàm hactenus unquam factum.* This Piece, I know, you have been enquiring after a long time: but cou'd never meet with it. It is very ſcarce; and the reaſon is, that it was never made publick: Mr. TOLAND having only printed a few Copies at his own charge, to diſtribute among his friends and Subſcribers (37).

IN 1713 he put out, *An Appeal to honeſt People againſt wicked Prieſts: or, the very Heathen Laity's Declarations for Civil Obedience and Liberty of Conſcience, contrary to the rebellious and perſecuting Principles of ſome of the old Chriſtian Clergy; with an Application to the corrupt part of the Prieſts of this preſent time: publiſh'd on occaſion of Dr.* SACHEVERELL's *laſt Sermon.*

DUNKIRK *or Dover: or the Queen's Honour, the Nation's Safety, the Liberties of*

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(37) The Reader will find it in this *Collection*, Vol. I. pag. 229.

of Europe, and the Peace of the World, all at ſtake till that Fort and Port be totally demoliſh'd by the French.

THE year following, he publiſh'd ſome other Pamphlets relating to the preſent ſituation of Affairs in England: viz.

THE *Art of Reſtoring: Or, the Piety and Probity of General* MONK *in bringing about the laſt Reſtoration, evidenc'd from his own Authentick Letters: with a juſt Account of Sir* ROGER (38), *who runs the Parallel as far as he can. In a Letter to a Miniſter of State, at the Court of Vienna.* There were ten editions of it within a quarter of a year.

A Collection of Letters written by his Excellency General GEORGE MONK, *afterwards Duke of* ALBEMARLE, *relating to the Reſtoration of the Royal Family. With an Introduction, proving by inconteſtable Evidence, that* MONK *had projected that Reſtoration in Scotland; againſt the Cavils of thoſe who wou'd rob him of the merit of this Action.*

THE *funeral Elogy and Character of her Royal Highneſs, the late Princeſs* SOPHIA: *with the explication of her conſecration Medal,*

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(38) The Earl of Oxford.

Medal. Written originally in Latin, tranſlated into Engliſh, and further illuſtrated, by Mr. Toland, *who has added the Character of the King, the Prince, and the Princeſs.* This Latin Piece was written by Monſieur Cramer.

THE ſame year Mr. Toland publiſh'd, *Reaſons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, on the ſame foot with all other Nations. Containing alſo, A Defence of the Jews againſt all vulgar Prejudices in all Countries.* He prefix'd to it an ingenious, but ſomewhat ironical, Dedication to the moſt Reverend the Arch-Biſhops, and the Right Reverend the Biſhops, of both Provinces.

IN 1717, he put out, *The State-Anatomy of Great Britain. Containing a particular Account of its ſeveral Intereſts and Parties, their bent and genius; and what each of them, with all the reſt of Europe, may hope or fear from the Reign and Family of King* George. *Being a Memorial ſent by an intimate friend to a foreign Miniſter, lately nominated to come for the Court of England.* This Tract was anſwer'd by Dr. Fiddes, Chaplain to the Earl of Oxford, and by Daniel de Foe: whereupon Mr. Toland publiſh'd, *The ſecond Part of the State-Anatomy, &c. Containing a ſhort Vindication of the former Part, againſt the Miſrepreſentations of the ignorant* *or the malicious, eſpecially relating to our Miniſters of State and to Foreigners; with ſome Reflections on the deſign'd Clamour againſt the Army, and on the Suediſh Conſpiracy. Alſo, Letters to his Grace, the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the Diſſenting Miniſters of all denominations, in the Year* 1705-6, *about a General Toleration, with ſome of their Anſwers to the Author: who now offers to publick Conſideration, what was then tranſacted for private Satisfaction; together with a Letter from their High Mightineſſes the States-General of the United Provinces, on the ſame ſubject.* Mr. TOLAND uſed to prefix long Titles to his Books, the better, I ſuppoſe, to recommend them to the Bookſellers.

IN the Year 1718, he publiſh'd, *Nazarenus: or, Jewiſh, Gentile, and Mahometan Chriſtianity. Containing, the hiſtory of the antient Goſpel of* BARNABAS, *and the modern Goſpel of the Mahometans, attributed to the ſame Apoſtle: this laſt Goſpel being now firſt made known among Chriſtians. Alſo, the Original Plan of Chriſtianity occaſionally explain'd in the hiſtory of the Nazarens, whereby diverſe Controverſies about this divine (but highly perverted Inſtitution) may be happily terminated. With the relation of an Iriſh Manuſcript of the four Goſpels, as likewiſe a Summary of the antient Iriſh Chriſtianity, and the reality of the Keldees (an Order of Lay-*

Lay-religious) againſt the two laſt Biſhops of WORCESTER. The *Original Plan of Chriſtianity*, according to Mr. TOLAND, was this: that the Jews, tho aſſociating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were ſtill to obſerve their own Law, throughout all generations; and that the Gentiles, who became ſo far Jews as to acknowledge one God, were not however to obſerve the Jewiſh Law: but that both of them were to be for ever after united into one body or fellowſhip, in that part of Chriſtianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philoſophers, requires the ſanctification of the Spirit, and the renovation of the inward man; and wherein alone the Jew and the Gentile, the Civiliz'd and the Barbarian, the Freeman and the Bondſlave, are all one in Chriſt, however otherwiſe differing in their circumſtances.

THIS Book was examin'd by Mr. MANGEY in his *Remarks upon Nazarenus: wherein the falſity of Mr.* TOLAND'*s Mahometan Goſpel, and his miſrepreſentation of Mahometan Sentiments, in reſpect of Chriſtianity, are ſet forth; the hiſtory of the old Nazaræans cleared up, and the whole conduct of the firſt Chriſtians in reſpect of the Jewiſh Law, explained and defended*: by Mr. PATERSON, in his *Anti-Nazarenus, by way of Anſwer to Mr.* TOLAND; *or, a Treatiſe proving the divine original and authority of the Holy Scrip-*

tures againſt Atheiſts, Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, Papiſts, Spinoza, and other modern Errors; as alſo againſt a late Pamphlet, entitled, "The Difficulties and Diſcouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures:" and by Dr. BRETT in the *Preface* of his *Tradition neceſſary to explain and interpret the Holy Scriptures*: &c.

THE ſame year he put out a Pamphlet, call'd, *The Deſtiny of Rome: or, the Probability of the ſpeedy and final Deſtruction of the Pope. Concluded, partly, from natural Reaſons, and political Obſervations; and partly, on occaſion of the famous Prophecy of St.* MALACHY, *Archbiſhop of Armagh, in the* XIIIth *Century: Which curious Piece, containing Emblematical Characters of all the Popes, from his own time to the utter Extirpation of them, is not only here entirely publiſh'd; but likewiſe ſet in a much clearer light, than has ever hitherto been done. In a Letter to a Divine of the Church of the Firſt-born.* What made him trifle away his time upon this ſubject, I will not pretend to account for: I ſhall only obſerve, that this Prophecy of St. MALACHY is look'd upon as a moſt ſilly impertinent forgery by the beſt Popiſh Criticks, and has been demonſtrated to be ſo by the ingenious Father MENESTRIER, a Jeſuit. I will ſend you his Remarks upon it, if you have the curioſity to ſee them.

IN the beginning of the Year 1720, Dr. HARE having put out a fourth Edition of his *Viſitation Sermon* entitled, *Church Authority vindicated*, &c; with a Poſtſcript concerning Mr. TOLAND, he publiſh'd the following Advertiſement in the Poſt-Man (39): "Whereas the Reverend Dr. HARE, in the "Poſtſcript to the 4th Edition of his Sermon "(*Church Authority vindicated*) publiſh'd "laſt Friday, ſpeaking of the Right Reverend "the Biſhop of BANGOR's Writings, uſes the "following words in page 48. *It muſt be al-* "*low'd his Lordſhip judges very truly, when* "*he ſays, they are faint reſemblances of* "*Mr.* CHILLINGWORTH: *For envy it ſelf* "*muſt own, his Lordſhip has ſome reſem-* "*blance to that Great Man; juſt ſuch a one* "*as Mr.* TOLAND *has to Mr.* LOCKE, *who, in* "Chriſtianity not Myſterious, *is often quoted* "*to ſupport Notions he never dream'd of.* "Now, this is to inform all thoſe who have "not read *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, that I "have never nam'd Mr. LOCKE in any Edi- "tion of that Book; and that far from *often* "*quoting* him, I have not as much as brought "one Quotation out of him *to ſupport No-* "*tions he never dream'd of.* I hope Mr LOCKE "himſelf may be heard, in a matter wherein "he is ſo nearly concern'd. In the Diſpute "between him and the then Biſhop of Wor- "ceſter, Dr. STILLINGFLEET, his Lordſhip "was pleas'd to affirm, that what he oppos'd

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(39) *The Poſt-Man*, from January 30, to February 2. 1720.

" in my Book was built on Mr. Locke; of " which Allegation the latter, in his *Second* " *Reply*, ſufficiently ſhows the falſity. *The* " *Author of* Chriſtianity not Myſterious (ſays " he, *Works*, Vol. I. page 138.) *ſuppoſes that* " *we muſt have clear and diſtinct Ideas of* " *whatever we pretend to any certainty of* " *in our Mind. Your Lordſhip calls this* " *a new way of reaſoning. This Gentleman* " *of this new way of reaſoning,* " *in his firſt Chapter, ſays ſomething which* " *has a conformity with ſome Notions* " *in my Book: but it is to be obſerv'd, he* " *ſpeaks them as his own thoughts, and* " *not upon my Authority, nor with taking* " *any notice of me.* Thus again, in page 440. " granting that I made uſe of words ſomewhat " like his (as who has read any good " Philoſopher that does not do the ſame?) " *I humbly conceive alſo*, ſays he, *that he* " *made uſe of them as his own, and not as* " *my words; for I do not remember, that* " *he quotes me for them. This I am ſure, that* " *in the words quoted out of him by your Lordſhip,* " *upon which my Book is brought in,* " *there is not one ſyllable of certainty by* " *Ideas.* The Biſhop himſelf was forc'd at " laſt to own, that Mr. Locke and I went " upon different grounds; nay he averr'd that " mine were the better (whether in juſtice to " me, or oppoſition to him, I leave to the " judgment of the Publick) upon which Mr. " Locke reply'd, pag. 443. *I am ſuppos'd to*

“ *ſay, that the cauſe why I continue unſatisfied, is, that the Author mention'd went upon a ground different from mine: And, to ſatisfy me, I am told his way is better than mine, which cannot but be thought an Anſwer very likely to ſatisſy me.* He ſhows, in a word, that I was miſrepreſented as well as himſelf, and preſſes the Biſhop of WORCESTER, to produce the parallel places out of him and me; as I do hereby call upon the Dean of WORCESTER, to ſhow, where I have *often*, or once *quoted* Mr. LOCKE *to ſupport Notions he never dream'd of*. As Mr. LOCKE then took notice, that his Name and mine were to be join'd, no matter what way; ſo people cannot but now obſerve, the ſame Artifice is us'd with regard to the Biſhop of BANGOR: For which favour, of introducing me into ſo good Company, I thank both the Dignitaries of WORCESTER; tho' I ſhou'd never importune any body to violate the Rules of Candor and Decorum, in doing me a like kindneſs.

J. TOLAND.

London, *Feb.* 1. 1720.

IN Anſwer to this Advertiſement, Dr. HARE publiſh'd the following one in the Daily-Courant (40):

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(40) *The Daily-Courant*, February 3. 1720.

"Juſt publiſh'd, the 4th Edition of,

" The Dean of Worceſter's Viſitation Ser-
" mon, entitled, *Church Authority vindica-*
" *ted.* [In the Poſtſcript l. 9. from the end,
" inſtead of *is often quoted,* read *makes great*
" *uſe of Mr.* LOCKE's *Principles.*] Sold by
" J. ROBERTS near the Oxford Arms in War-
" wick-lane. Price 6d.

Dr. HARE's Advertiſement occaſion'd the publiſhing of a Pamphlet, with this title: *A ſhort Eſſay upon Lying; or, a Defence of a Reverend Dignitary, who ſuffers under the Perſecution of Mr.* TOLAND, *for a* Lapſus calami.

UPON a diſpute between the Iriſh and Britiſh Houſes of Lords with reſpect to Appeals, the latter order'd a *Bill* to be brought in *for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland, upon the Crown of Great Britain;* wherein it was declared, that there lay an Appeal from any Decree of the Houſe of Lords in Ireland to the Houſe of Lords in Great Britain, as to the ſupreme Court of Judicature and laſt reſort. Some Pamphlets were printed at Dublin in favour of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, and to prevent the paſſing of that Bill, which Mr. TOLAND caus'd to be reprinted at London: and he himſelf publiſh'd on that occaſion, *Reaſons* *moſt humbly offer'd to the honourable Houſe of Commons, why the Bill ſent down to them from the moſt honourable the Houſe of Lords, entitled,* A Bill for the better ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, *ſhou'd not paſs into a Law.*

ABOUT that time, he printed a Latin Tract, intitled, *Pantheiſticon: ſive Formula celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae, in tres Particulas diviſa; quae Pantheiſtarum, ſive Sodalium, continent, I. Mores & Axiomata: II. Numen & Philoſophiam: III. Libertatem, & non fallentem Legem neque fallendam. Praemittitur, de antiquis & novis Eruditorum Sodalitatibus, ut & de Univerſo infinito & aeterno, Diatriba. Subjicitur, de duplici Pantheiſtarum Philoſophia ſequendâ, ac de Viri Optimi & ornatiſſimi idea, Diſſertatiuncula. Coſmopoli,* M. DCC. XX. That *Formula celebrandae Sodalitatis Socraticae,* is written by way of Dialogue, between the Preſident of a Philoſophical Society, and the Members of it. The Preſident recommends to them the love of Truth, Liberty, and Health; and encourages them to be chearful, ſober, temperate, and free from Superſtition: and in their Anſwers they declare their readineſs to obſerve his Precepts. He now and then reads to them paſſages out of CICERO or SENECA; and ſometimes they ſing all together ſome Verſes out of the antient Poets, ſuitable to their Maxims. As to the Religion of theſe Philoſophers, their name ſufficiently ſhews what it is. They are *Pantheiſts*, and conſequently acknowledge no other God than the Univerſe. And if we further look upon this Piece as made up of Reſponſes, Leſſons, a Philoſophical Canon, and a ſort of Litany, and the whole printed both in red and black; we ſhall hardly forbear thinking that it was written in deriſion of ſome Chriſtian Liturgies. He himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible, that he had too much indulg'd his looſe imagination; for he got it printed ſecretly, at his own charge, and but a few copies, which he diſtributed with a view of receiving ſome preſents for them.

I had almoſt forgot to tell you, SIR, that he prefix'd before this Pamphlet a ſhort Preface under the name of JANUS JUNIUS EOGANESIUS; which, tho' it was his true Chriſten-name, and the name of his Country, yet it ſerv'd for as good a cover as any he cou'd feign or invent: no body in England, being acquainted with theſe particulars. But you ſee now plainly the meaning of it. From *Inis-Eogan*, i. e. *Eogani Inſula*, the place of his birth, he formed *Eoganeſius*, as *Proconneſius*, or *Peloponneſius*.

SOME time after, he publiſh'd a Book intitled, *Tetradymus. Containing*, I. HODEGUS; *or the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that guided the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſs, not miraculous: but, as faithfully related in Exodus, a thing equally practis'd by other Nations, and in thoſe places not onely uſeful but neceſſary* (41). II. CLIDOPHORUS; *or of the Exoteric and Eſoteric Philoſophy, that is, of the External and Internal Doctrine of the Ancients: the one open and public, accommodated to popular Prejudices and the eſtabliſh'd Religions; the other private and ſecret, wherein, to the few capable and diſcrete, was taught the real Truth ſtript of all diſguiſes.* III. HYPATIA; *or the hiſtory of a moſt beautiful, moſt virtuous, moſt learned, and every way accompliſh'd Lady; who was torn to pieces by the Clergy of Alexandria, to gratify the pride, emulation, and cruelty of their Archbiſhop* CYRIL, *commonly but undeſervedly ſtil'd Saint* CYRIL. IV. MANGONEUTES: *being a Defence of* Nazarenus, *addreſs'd to the right reverend* JOHN *Lord Biſhop of London; againſt his Lordſhip's*

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(41) That Diſſertation was anſwer'd in a Pamphlet call'd: *Hodegus confuted: or a plain demonſtration, that the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, that guided the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſs, was not a Fire of human Preparation, but the moſt miraculous preſence of God:* 1721. In 8°. And in a *Diſcourſe upon the Pillar of Cloud and Fire, which guided the Iſraelites thro the Wilderneſs, proving it to have been miraculous; occaſion'd by a Diſſertation of Mr.* TOLAND*'s call'd* HODEGUS: inſerted in the *Bibliotheca Literaria*, &c. 1723. Numb. V. pag. 1, &c.

ſhip's Chaplain Dr. MANGEY, *his Dedicator Mr.* PATERSON, *and (who ought to have been nam'd firſt) the reverend Dr.* BRETT, *once belonging to his Lordſhip's Church.*

IN the laſt of theſe Tracts, addreſs'd to the late Biſhop of London, he inſerted his *Advertiſement* againſt Dr. HARE, with the Doctor's Anſwer. After having obſerv'd "that certain men (42) will neither allow "themſelves nor others to commend any "thing in one from whom they differ; and "that they do not ſtick at ſaying any thing "to his prejudice, be it ever ſo improbable "or even falſe:" and that "theſe are the "men who give Religion the deepeſt wounds; "and who are not only the real and moſt "dangerous unbelievers, but who likewiſe "tempt the unwary and inconſiderate to become ſuch: for if they were heartily perſuaded of the doctrines of Chriſtianity, "they wou'd not, in direct oppoſition to "them, abandon all truth and charity; nor "wou'd others think, they only made a "gainful trade of teaching thoſe holy doctrines, but becauſe they perceive their practice glaringly contrary to their profeſſion. "Now ſince I am on this head, *purſues he*, "and that, at the beginning of this *Letter*, I "made out my right to demand juſtice of "thoſe among your Lordſhip's Clergy, who

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(42) Pag. 190, &c.

" had injur'd me; I ſhall lay before you the " cauſe of ſome reaſonable complaint, I conceive to have againſt Dr. HARE, a Prebendary of your own Cathedral. This learned gentleman hooking me into a work of " his, without the leaſt occaſion or provocation, I publiſh'd the following *Advertiſement* on the ſecond of laſt February, in " the *Poſt-man* and in *St. James's Evening Poſt* (43). .... Every body did me all the " juſtice then, I cou'd require on this occaſion, except Dr. HARE himſelf: who, far " from giving glory to God, and ingenuouſly acknowledging his fault, gets inſerted " in the *Courant* of next day, theſe words; " Inſtead of, *is often quoted*, read, *makes great uſe of Mr.* LOCKE'S *Principles.* Firſt, " Mr. LOCKE peremptorily diſowns, that I " *made* any *uſe* of his *Principles, to ſupport notions he never dreamt of*; and, ſecondly, " it appears by the whole connection, that " this emendation was not in the Doctor's " thoughts at the beginning; or ſuppoſing it " were, that it ſerves his cauſe as little as " the other way of ſpeaking: ſince I proceed upon different *Principles* from Mr. " LOCKE, and *Principles* that are better, if " you believe the then Biſhop of Worceſter. " In fine, no *Slip of the Pen*, nor any of " the methods laid down by an ingenious writ-

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(43) See the *Advertiſement* before, pag. lxxiii,

"writer (44), can poſſibly ſalve the Doctor "from oblique dealing: as the drawing me "by the head and ſhoulders into his Pamphlet, was unneceſſary; if not ſpightful, "with regard to me or ſome other. I ſay "it again, that it wou'd have been no condeſcenſion below his dignity, ſince he "vouchſafed to take notice of me at all, "if he had accus'd his memory, or in any "other manner own'd his miſtake; inſtead of "having recourſe to ſhifts that deſerve a "coarſer name, than I am willing to give, "out of reſpect I pay him on other accounts. "He ſhall find no man more ready to proclaim his real merit, as I ſhall have ſome "occaſion to do ſo, before I finiſh this Letter. Uniformity of ſentiments, as I have "already told your Lordſhip more than once, "ſhall never be the ſtandard of my eſteem; "and Candor ſhall ever weigh more with "me, than Learning or Parts, which yet "with all the world I highly admire. How "divine was that ſaying of Prince EUGENE! "when ſending a mark of his favor from "Leiceſter-houſe to the reverend Mr. WHISTON; *tho I approve not at all his ſentiments* "(ſaid he to an impertinent zealot) *yet I* "*eſteem him, as ſuffering for what he's perſuaded to be the truth.* What a reproach "is this to his Proteſtant Perſecutors, out

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(44) *A ſhort Eſſay upon Lying*, &c.

" of the mouth of one of the Roman Communion!"

IN the concluſion of that Letter, he gives the following account of his Conduct and Sentiments: " Notwithſtanding, *ſays he* (45), " the imputations of Hereſy and Infidelity ſo " often publiſh'd by the Clergy, as lately in " the vauntingeſt manner by one not unknown to you (the whiffling and the ignorant being ever the moſt arrogant and " confident) I aſſure your Lordſhip, that the " Purity of Religion, and the Proſperity of " the State, have been ever my chiefeſt aims. " CIVIL LIBERTY and RELIGIOUS TOLERATION, as the moſt deſirable things in this " World, the moſt conducing to peace, plenty, knowledge, and every kind of happineſs, have been the two main objects of " all my writings. But as by Liberty I did " not mean Licentiouſneſs, ſo by Toleration I did not mean Indifference, and " much leſs an Approbation of every Religion that I cou'd ſuffer. To be more particular, I ſolemnly profeſs to your Lordſhip, that the Religion taught by JESUS " CHRIST and his APOSTLES (but not as ſince " corrupted by the ſubſtractions, additions, " or other alterations of any particular man " or company of men) is that which I infinitely prefer before all others. I do over

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(45) Pag. 223.

“ and over again repeat CHRIST *and his*
“ APOSTLES, excluſive of either Oral Tradi-
“ tion, or the determinations of Synods:
“ adding, what I declared before to the
“ World, that Religion, as it came out of
“ their hands, was no leſs plain and pure,
“ than uſeful and inſtructive; and that, as
“ being the buſineſs of every man, it was
“ equally underſtood by every-body. For
“ CHRIST did not inſtitute one Religion for
“ the learned, and another for the vul-
“ gar, &c.

IN the Preface to this Volume, there is likewiſe a Vindication of himſelf and his Opinions: but it is too long to be inſerted here.

Dr. HARE publiſh'd in 1721, a Book intitled, *Scripture vindicated from the Miſrepreſentations of the Lord Biſhop of* BANGOR &c, and in the Preface, ſpeaking of the *Conſtitutions of Carolina,* he obſerves, that by one of the Articles, none are excluded from ſetling in that Country, upon the account of their Opinions, *but downright Atheiſts, ſuch,* ſays he, *as the impious Author of the* Pantheiſticon; and at the bottom of the page he hath the Note following (46): “ This Atheiſtick
“ Writer not content with what he has
“ dared to print in this prophane Piece, has,
“ I

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(46) Pag. xxi.

" I am told, in ſome Copies inſerted a Prayer
" in MSS. in theſe or the like words:

" *Omnipotens & Sempiterne* BACCHE, *qui*
" *hominum corda donis tuis recreas, concede*
" *propitius, ut qui heſternis poculis ægroti*
" *facti ſunt, hodiernis curentur, &*
" *per pocula poculorum.* How to
" fill the blank I have left, I do not remember.
Thus prays this *Pantheiſt*, whoſe impudent
Blaſphemies loudly call for the Animadverſions
of the Civil Power.

AND upon further intelligence, he inſerted this Advertiſement in the *Errata:*

" THE Prayer to BACCHUS, p. xxi. being,
" to the beſt of my remembrance, in the very
" words, in which I have heard it repeated
" more than once by the ſame perſon; and
" yet differing much in expreſſion from two
" written Copies I have lately ſeen; (which
" alſo differ from each other;) I thought it
" would not be unacceptable to the Reader,
" to give him the following Copy; which,
" whatever the other be, I can aſſure him is
" from an Original.

" *Omnipotens & Sempiterne* BACCHE, *qui*
" *humanam ſocietatem maxume in bibendo*
" *conſtituiſti; concede propitius, ut iſtorum*
" *capita, qui heſternâ compotatione gravantur,*

“ *hodiernâ leventur*; *idq*; *fiat per* pocula po-
“ culorum. Amen.

WHEN Dr. HARE's Book came out, I remember, SIR, you ask'd me whether Mr. TOLAND had really writ this Prayer: I cou'd not then anſwer your queſtion; but I have ſince enquir'd into this matter, and can now aſſure you that he never dream'd of any ſuch thing. The perſon, who, I am told, is the author of it, I will forbear to name upon the account of his profeſſion: tho', I believe, he only deſign'd it as a ridicule on Mr. TOLAND's Club of Pantheiſt Philoſophers, whom he imagin'd to be all drunkards; whereas they are grave, ſober, and temperate men. Upon the whole, it muſt be own'd, that as there is more wit and humour, ſo there is likewiſe a more bare-faced prophaneſs in this Prayer, than in any paſſage of the *Pantheiſticon*.

THE ſame year, Mr. TOLAND publiſh'd ſome *Letters* of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY to the Lord MOLESWORTH, with an Introduction, wherein, after having done juſtice to the extraordinary parts and learning of the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, he gives a particular account of his principles and conduct with reſpect to public affairs: *Letters from the right honourable the late Earl of* SHAFTSBURY, *to* ROBERT MOLESWORTH *Eſq*; *now Lord Viſcount of that name. With two Letters written*

ten by the late Sir John Cropley. *To which is prefix'd a large Introduction by the Editor.* Theſe Letters turn chiefly upon two points, the Love of one's Country, and the Choice of a Wife.

Mr. Toland had for above four years paſt liv'd at Putney, from whence he cou'd conveniently go to London and come back the ſame day; but he uſed to ſpend moſt part of the winter in London. Being in town about the middle of December, he found himſelf very ill; having been lingring for ſome time before. His appetite and ſtrength fail'd him: and a certain Doctor, who was call'd to him, made him a great deal worſe, by bringing a continual vomiting and looſeneſs upon him. However, he made a ſhift to return to Putney, where he grew better, and had ſome hopes of recovery. In this interval, he writ a Diſſertation to ſhew the uncertainty of Phyſic, and the danger of truſting our life to thoſe who practiſe it: while by our own care and experience we might eaſily provide ſuch medicines as are proper and neceſſary for us (47). He did likewiſe prepare a Preface, to be prefix'd before a Pamphlet, call'd *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*, which it was thought ſeaſonable to reprint againſt the

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(47) That Diſſertation, intitled, *Phyſic without Phyſicians*, is printed in this *Collection*, Vol. II. pag. 273.

approaching Election of a new Parliament. In this Piece, he deſign'd to ſet forth the infinite miſchiefs of long and pack'd Parliaments: but he cou'd not finiſh it; for he died on Sunday the 11th of March 1721-2, about four a-clock in the morning. He behav'd himſelf throughout the whole courſe of his ſickneſs with a true philoſophical patience, and look'd upon death without the leaſt perturbation of mind; bidding farewell to thoſe about him, and telling them, *he was going to ſleep.*

SOME few days before he died, he made the following Epitaph:

H. S. E.
JOANNES TOLANDUS,
Qui, in Hibernia prope Deriam natus,
In Scotia & Hibernia ſtuduit,
Quod Oxonii quoque fecit adoleſcens;
Atque Germania plus ſemel petita,
Virilem circa Londinum tranſegit ætatem.
Omnium Literarum excultor,
Ac Linguarum plus decem ſciens.
Veritatis propugnator,
Libertatis aſſertor:
Nullius autem Sectator aut Cliens,
Nec minis, nec malis eſt inflexus,
Quin, quam elegit, viam perageret;

Utili honeſtum anteferens.
Spiritus cum æthereo patre,
A quo prodiit olim, conjungitur:
Corpus item, naturæ cedens,
In materno gremio reponitur.
Ipſe vero æternum eſt reſurrecturus,
At idem futurus TOLANDUS *nunquam.*
Natus Nov. 30.
Cetera ex Scriptis pete.

THUS, SIR, I have in obedience to your commands, and to the beſt of my ability, given you an Account of Mr. TOLAND, as an Author. I have, I preſume, taken notice of all the Pieces he has publiſh'd; but did not think it worth the while to mention his Projects. He hardly put out a Book, but he promis'd in it one or two more: which may help ſome learned German Biographer, to enlarge ALMELOVEEN's *Bibliotheca promiſſa & latens*. The moſt conſiderable of theſe Projects, and which, I believe, he intended to purſue in good earneſt, was his *Hiſtory of the Druids*. But I am credibly inform'd, that he had not ſo much as begun it. He has, however, left a very curious Specimen of it, in three Letters to the Lord MOLESWORTH (48).

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(48) That *Specimen* the Reader will find in this Collection, Vol. I. pag. 1.

I ſhall not enter into Mr. TOLAND's perſonal Character, ſince you have not requir'd it of me. Nor will I mention what has been ſaid of him by other Authors; ſome of which have carried their partiality ſo far, that they won't even allow him one ſingle commendable quality. I'll give you an inſtance of this, from a late weekly Writer. After having miſrepreſented ſome circumſtances of his Life, he proceeds thus:

"HIS Misfortunes, *ſays he* (49), are to
" be aſcribed to his Vanity; he affected ſin-
" gularity in all things, (an eaſy way of be-
" ing diſtinguiſhed) he would reject an Opi-
" nion, merely becauſe an eminent Writer
" embraced it; he had a Smattering in many
" Languages, was a Critick in none; his Style
" was low, confuſed, and diſagreeable; he
" prefix'd affected Titles to his Tracts, in imi-
" tation of ſome ancient Philoſophers, in
" which he loved to talk of himſelf, and that
" in a moſt complaiſant manner. Dabling
" in Controverſy was his Delight, in which
" he was rude, poſitive, and always in the
" wrong. His being known to the world,
" is owing chiefly to the Animadverſions of
" learned Men upon his Writings, among
" whom 'twas a common trick in their Diſ-
" putes

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(49) *The Freeholders Journal*, March 21, 1721.

" putes with one another, to charge their
" Adverſary with an agreement to, or re-
" ſemblance of Mr. TOLAND's Notions, as
" the greateſt Infamy, and the ſureſt *Crite-
" rion* of Error. No man that wrote ſo
" voluminouſly againſt Religion, has ever
" done ſo little miſchief; 'tis a Queſtion whe-
" ther he was more pitied by the pious part
" of mankind, or deſpiſed by his fellow In-
" fidels. He was happy in one circumſtance,
" that he expired the ſame Day with the Par-
" liament (50), whereby the little ſtream of
" his Impiety 'ſcaped the notice of thoſe, who
" had their eyes fix'd upon the abatement of
" a deluge of Iniquity."

YOU eaſily perceive, SIR, that ſeveral things here are overſtrain'd, or purpoſely ſuggeſted to make Mr. TOLAND odious and contemptible. After all, it muſt be own'd, that he might have employ'd his Talents much better than he has done. But he had the misfortune to fall into an idle indiſcreet way of living, which he indulged to his death, notwithſtanding the repeated advices and remonſtrances of his beſt friends. It were to be wiſh'd, he had conſider'd that Wit and Learning don't go a great way to make one eſteem'd and reſpected in the world, if they are not attended with thoſe ſocial Virtues, which are the ornaments as well as the duties of every man.

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(50) Mr. TOLAND did not *expire the ſame day with the Parliament.* He died on the eleventh, and the Parliament was diſſolv'd on the tenth of March.

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and
moſt obedient ſervant

AN ELEGY

On the late ingenious Mr. TOLAND *.

O TOLAND! mighty friend to nature's laws,
Thou great ſupport of Truth, and Reaſon's cauſe;
Art thou no more? Is thy laſt breath expir'd?
And nature to her ancient ſeat retir'd?
Each jarring element gone angry home?
And Maſter TOLAND a *Non-ens* become?
Is all thy el'quent breath, thy wond'rous boaſt
Of argument, in boundleſs Æther loſt?
Earth gone to earth, the mould'ring ſubſtance muſt,
By ſlow degrees, diſſolve to native Duſt.
The cooler fluids, and the wat'ry part
That dampt thy blood, and quench'd thy noble heart,
Now leave the ſtiff unanimated clay,
And to their mother Ocean ſeek their way.
The purer genial pow'rs, the vital flame,
That mov'd and quicken'd the mechanick frame,
Is flown aloft, a ſpark, a borrow'd ray,
And reunited to the Prince of Day.
Oh! weep, Britannia's ſons, your champion's dead,
The patron of your Liberty is fled.
O Liberty! thou Goddeſs heav'nly bright!
That doſt impart thy radiant beams of light
To this bleſt Iſle, which of thy darling train,
Will, like this Hero, thy juſt cauſe maintain?
How greatly brave has he undaunted ſtood
Againſt a torrent, an impetuous flood,

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* This ELEGY was publiſh'd ſome days after Mr. TOLAND's Death; and 'tis a matter of doubt with ſome people, whether the Author deſign'd to praiſe or to ridicule him.

Of bigotted Enthuſiaſts, and tricks
Of Pedantry, and prieſtly Politicks!
Thou pregnant Genius, who thy praiſe can tell?
Thy Reaſon did, like morning ſun, diſpel
Dark clouds of Ignorance, and break the ſpell
Of Rome's Inchantments, and the leſſer frauds
Of Churches Proteſtant, and Engliſh LAUDS.
To thee we owe, to thy victorious hand,
A reſcu'd People, and a ranſom'd Land.
Thou haſt broke off our manacles and chains,
And freed our minds of ſuperſtitious pains.
Thy ſhining lamp has brought reſplendent day,
Finely deſcrib'd the plain and eaſy way,
Clear'd of the rubbiſh of myſterious Schools,
And mazes intricate of pious fools,
Enſlav'd to narrow Forms, and captivating Rules.
Oh! hadſt thou liv'd to baniſh all the Dreams
Of fab'lous Ages, and the Monkiſh Themes
Of Miracles, of Myſteries, and Tales,
(Where fancy over common ſenſe prevails)
Then might we mourn thy fate with leſs concern,
With leſs regret behold thy ſacred Urn.
Howe'er, thy great example has inſpir'd
A noble emulation, it has fir'd
The glowing breaſts of our Britannick Youth,
With love of Liberty, and love of Truth.
Thou haſt not left us in the gloom of night,
Some Stars we have, that lend a friendly light,
That ſhed a kind, auſpicious influence,
To cheriſh Reaſon, and to ripen Senſe.

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WITH THE

Hiſtory of ABARIS *the Hyperborean,*
Prieſt of the SUN.

In THREE LETTERS
TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

THE FIRST LETTER:

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORD

VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I. SOME men, MY LORD, from a natural greatneſs of ſoul, and others from a ſenſe of the want of Learning in themſelves, or the advantages of it in others, have many times liberally contributed towards the advancement of Letters. But when they, whoſe excellent natural parts are richly cultivated by ſound Literature, undertake the protection of the Muſes, writers feel a double incouragement; both as they are happily inabled to perfect their ſtudies, and as their Patrons are true judges of their performances. 'Tis from this conſideration alone (abſtracted, MY LORD, from all that you have already done, or may hereafter deſerve from your country, by an unſhaken love of Liberty) that I preſume to acquaint your Lordſhip with a deſign, which I form'd ſeveral years ago at Oxford, and which I have ever ſince kept in view; collecting, as occaſion preſented, whatever might any way tend to the advantage or perfection of it. 'Tis to write *The Hiſtory of the* DRUIDS, *containing an account of the antient* CELTIC RELIGION *and* LITERATURE; and concerning which I beg your patience for a little while. Tho this be a ſubject, that will be naturally entertaining to the curious in every place; yet it does more particularly concern the inhabitants of antient Gaule, (now France, Flanders, the Alpine regions, and Lombardy) and of all the Britiſh Iſlands, whoſe antiquities are here partly explain'd and illuſtrated, partly vindicated and reſtor'd. It will ſound ſomewhat oddly, at firſt hearing, that a man born in the moſt northern (1) Peninſula of Ireland, ſhou'd undertake to ſet the Antiquities of Gaule in a clearer light than any one has hitherto done. But when 'tis conſider'd, that, over and above what he knows in common, relating to the DRUIDS, with the learned of the French nation, (whoſe works he conſtantly reads with uncommon eſteem) he has alſo certain other advantages, which none of thoſe writers have ever had: when this, I ſay, is conſider'd, then

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(1) This peninſula is *Inis-Eogain*, vulgarly *Enis-owen*, in whoſe Iſthmus ſtands the city of Londonderry, itſelf a peninſula, and, if the tradition be true, originally a famous Grove and School of the Druids. Hence comes the very name *Doire*, corruptly pronounc'd *Derry*, which in Iriſh ſignifies *a Grove*, particularly of Oaks. The great COLUMBA chang'd it into a College for Monks (who in his time were retir'd Laymen, that liv'd by the labor of their hands)

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hands) as moſt commonly the ſacred places of the Heathens, if pleaſant or commodious, were converted to the like uſe by the Chriſtians after their own manner. This Derry is the *Roboretum* or * *Campus roborum*, mention'd by BEDE in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*: but not *Ardmacha*, now *Armagh*, in the ſame province of Ulſter, as many have erroneouſly conceiv'd; nor yet *Durramh*, now *Durrough*, in that of Leinſter, as ſome have no leſs groundleſly fancy'd, among whom Archbiſhop USHER. *Dearmach* is compounded of *Dair* an *oak* and the antient word *Mach* (now *Machaire*) a *field*. They who did not know ſo much, have imagin'd it from the mere ſound to be *Armagh*, which, far from *Campus roborum*, ſignifies *the height or mount of* MACHA, (ſurnamed *Mongruadh* or redhair'd) a Queen of Ireland, and the only woman that ever ſway'd the ſovereign ſceptre of that kingdom. But Armach never was a monaſtery founded by COLUMBA, who in BEDE's time was call'd † COLUIM-CILLE, as he's by the Iriſh to this day: whereas it was from the monaſteries of *Derry* and *I-colmkill* (which laſt, tho the ſecond erected, became the firſt in dignity) that all the other monaſteries dedicated to COLUMBA, whether in Scotland or Ireland, were ſo many colonies. This is atteſted by the juſt mention'd ** BEDE, no leſs than by all the Iriſh *Annaliſts* ſince their ſeveral foundations.

[*] Fecerat autem [COLUMBA] prius quàm in Britanniam veniret monaſterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum *Dearmach* lingua Scotorum, hoc eſt *campus roborum*, vocatur. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

[†] Qui, videlicet COLUMBA, nunc a nonnullis, compoſito a *Cella* & *Columba* nomine, COLUMCELLI vocatur. *Ibid. lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.

[**] Ex quo utroque monaſterio per plurima exinde monaſteria, per diſcipulos ejus, & in Britannia & in Hibernia propagata ſunt; in quibus omnibus idem monaſterium inſulanum, in quo ipſe requieſcit corpore, principatum tenet. *Ibid. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4.

all the wonder about this affair will inſtantly ceaſe. Yet let it be ſtill remember'd, that whatever accompliſhment may conſiſt in the knowledge of languages, no language is really valuable, but as far as it ſerves to converſe with the living, or to learn from the dead; and therefore were that knowledge of times and things contain'd in Lapponian, which we draw from the Greec, and that this laſt were as barren as the firſt: I ſhou'd then ſtudy Lapponian, and neglect Greec; for all its ſuperiority over moſt tongues, in reſpect of ſonorous pronunciation, copiouſneſs of words, and variety of expreſſion. But as the profound ignorance and ſlavery of the preſent Greecs does not hinder, but that their anceſtors were the moſt learned, polite, and free of all European nations; ſo no revolution that has befallen any or all of the Celtic colonies, can be a juſt prejudice againſt the truly ancient and undoubted monuments they may be able to furniſh, towards improving or reſtoring any point of Learning. Whether there be any ſuch monuments or not, and how far uſeful or agreeable, will in the following ſheets appear.

II. AMONG thoſe Inſtitutions which are thought to be irrecoverably loſt, one is that of the DRUIDS; of which the Learned have hitherto known nothing, but by ſome Fragments concerning them out of the Greec and Roman authors. Nor are ſuch Fragments always intelligible, becauſe never explaind' by any of thoſe, who were ſkill'd in the Celtic dialects, which are now principally ſix; namely *Welſh* or the inſular Brittiſh, *Corniſh* almoſt extinct, *Armorican* or French Brittiſh, *Iriſh* the leaſt corrupted, *Manks* or the language of the Ile of Man, and *Earſe* or Highland Iriſh, ſpoken alſo in all the weſtern Ilands of Scotland. Theſe, having ſeverally their own dialects, are, with reſpect to each other and the old Celtic of Gaule, as the ſeveral dialects of the German language and the Low Dutch, the Swediſh, Daniſh, Norwegian and Iſlandic; which are all deſcendants of their common mother, the Gothic. Not that ever ſuch a thing as a pure Gothic or Celtic language either did or cou'd exiſt in any conſiderable region without dialects, no more than pure elements: but by ſuch an original language is meant the common root and trunk, the primitive words, and eſpecially the peculiar conſtruction that runs thro all the branches; whereby they are intelligible to each other, or may eaſily become ſo, but different from all kinds of ſpeech beſides. Thus the Celtic and the Gothic, which have been often taken for each other, are as different as Latin and Arabic. In like manner we conceive of the ſeveral idioms of the Greec language formerly, in Greece itſelf properly ſo call'd, in Macedonia, in Crete and the Ilands of the Archipelago, in Aſia, Rhodes, part of Italy, in Sicily, and Marſeilles; and at this time of the Sclavonian language, whoſe dialects not only prevail in Ruſſia, Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Servia, but in a great many other places, too tedious to recite. But of this ſubject we ſhall treat profeſſedly in a (2) *Diſſertation* to be annex'd to the work, whereof I am giving your Lordſhip an account. Neither ſhall I in this *Specimen* dwell on ſome things, whereof I ſhall principally and largely treat in the deſign'd *Hiſtory*; I mean, the Philoſophy of the Druids concerning the Gods, human Souls, Nature in general, and in particular the heavenly Bodies, their magnitudes, motions, diſtances, and duration; whereof CESAR, DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, POMPONIUS MELA, and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS write more ſpecially than others. Theſe ſubjects, I ſay, will be copiouſly handled and commented in my *Hiſtory*. In the mean time I do aſſure you, MY LORD, from all authors, that no Heathen Prieſthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical, which was far more exquiſite than any other ſuch ſyſtem; as having been much better calculated to beget Ignorance and an Implicite diſpoſition in the people, no leſs than to procure power and profit to the Prieſts, which is one grand difference between the true worſhip and the falſe. This Weſtern Prieſthood did infinitely exceed that of ZOROASTER, and all the Eaſtern ſacred policy: ſo that *the Hiſtory of the Druids*, in ſhort, is *the complete Hiſtory of Prieſtcraft*, with all its reaſons and reſſorts; which to diſtinguiſh accurately from right Religion, is not only the intereſt of all wiſe Princes and States, but likewiſe does ſpecially concern the tranquillity and happineſs of every private perſon. I have uſed the word *Prieſtcraft* here on purpoſe, not merely as being the beſt expreſſion for the deſign'd abuſe and reverſe of Religion, (for Superſtition is only Religion miſunderſtood) but alſo becauſe the coining of the very word was occaſion'd by the DRUIDS: ſince the Anglo-Saxons having learnt the word *Dry* (3) from the Iriſh and Britons for a *Magician*, did very appoſitely call *Magic* or Inchantment *Drycræft* (4); as being nothing elſe but trick and illuſion, the fourbery of Prieſts and their confederates.

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(2) A DISSERTATION *concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies.*

III. NOW, this Inſtitution of the Druids I think myſelf, without any conſciouſneſs of vanity, much abler to retrieve (as having infinitely better helps in many reſpects, of which, before I have done) than Dr. HYDE was to reſtore the knowledge of the antient Perſian Literature and Religion; which yet he left imperfect for want of due encouragement, as I have ſhown in the firſt chapter of *Nazarenus*. From undoubted Celtic monuments, join'd to the Greec and Roman remains, I can diſplay the order of their Hierarchy, from the ARCH-DRUID down to the meaneſt of their four orders of Prieſts. Of theſe degrees, the ARCH-DRUID excepted, there's little to be found in the Claſſic authors, that treat of the Druids: but very much and very particularly, in the Celtic writings and monuments. For many reaſons their Hiſtory is moſt intereſting and entertaining: I mean, as on the one hand we conſider them ſeducing their followers, and as on the other hand we learn not to be ſo deceiv'd. They dextrouſly led the people blindfold, by committing no part of their Theology or Philoſophy to writing, tho' great writers in other reſpects; but their dictates were only hereditarily convey'd from maſters to diſciples by traditionary Poems, interpretable (conſequently) and alterable as they ſhou'd ſee convenient: which is a much more effectual way, than locking up a book from the Laity, that, one way or other, is ſure to come firſt or laſt to their knowledge, and eaſy perhaps to be turn'd againſt the Prieſts. The Druids, as may be ſeen in the 6th book of CESAR'*s Commentaries*, drew the deciſion of all controverſies of Law and Equity to themſelves, the diſtribution of all puniſhments and rewards; from the power that was firſt given, or afterwards aſſum'd by them, of determining matters of Ceremony and Religion. Moſt terrible were the effects of the Druidical (5) Excommunication on any man, that did not implicitely follow their directions, and ſubmit to their decrees: not only to the excluding of private perſons from all benefits of Society, and even from ſociety itſelf; but alſo to the depoſing of the Princes who did not pleaſe them, and often devoting them to deſtruction. Nor leſs intolerable was their power of engaging the nation in war, or of making a diſadvantageous and diſhonourable peace; while they had the addreſs to get themſelves exempted from bearing arms, paying taxes, or contributing any thing to the public but *Charms*: and yet to have their perſons reputed ſacred and inviolable, by thoſe even of the contrary ſide, which veneration however was not always ſtrictly paid. Theſe privileges allur'd great numbers to enter into their communities, for ſuch Sodalities or Fraternities they had; and to take on them the Druidical profeſſion, to be perfect in which, did ſometimes coſt them twenty years ſtudy. Nor ought this to ſeem a wonder, ſince to arrive at perfection in Sophiſtry requires a long habit, as well as in juggling, in which laſt they were very expert: but to be maſters of both, and withal to learn the art of managing the

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(3) Pronounc'd as *Dree* in Engliſh.

(4) *Dry* magus, *Dry-cræft* incantatio. *Ælfric. in Gloſſar.*

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(5) If the learned reader, who knows any of the paſſages, or the unlearned reader who wants authorities for proving the following aſſertions, ſhould wonder I do not always cite them; let it be known to both, that as in this *Specimen* I commonly touch but the heads of things (and not of all things neither) ſo I wou'd not crowd the margin with long paſſages

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paſſages, nor yet curtail what in my *Hiſtory* ſhall be produc'd at large: and therefore all the following citations (the original manner of writing Celtic words excepted) are either ſamples of the quotations I ſhall give, or proofs of what I wou'd not for a moment have ſuſpected to be precariouſly advanc'd, or, finally, for the better underſtanding of certain matters which come in by way of digreſſion or illuſtration. Otherwiſe they wou'd not be neceſſary in a mere Specimen, tho' in a finiſh'd work indiſpenſable.

mob, which is vulgarly call'd *leading the people by the noſe*, demands abundant ſtudy and exerciſe.

IV. THE children of the ſeveral Kings, with thoſe of all the Nobility, were committed to the tuition of the Druids, whereby they had an opportunity (contrary to all good politics) of molding and framing them to their own private intereſts and purpoſes; conſidering which direction of Education, **Patric**, had they been *a landed Clergy*, wou'd not have found the converſion of Ireland ſo eaſy a task. So eaſy indeed it was, that the heathen Monarch **Laogirius** (who, as ſome aſſert, was never himſelf converted) and all the provincial Kings, granted to every man free liberty of preaching and profeſſing Chriſtianity. So that, as **Giraldus Cambrensis** remarks, this is the only country of Chriſtians, where no body was oblig'd to ſuffer (6) Martyrdom for the *Goſpel*. This juſtice therefore I wou'd do to Ireland, even if it had not been my country, *viz.* to maintain that this Tolerating principle, this *Impartial Liberty* (ever ſince unexampled there as well as elſewhere, China excepted) is a far greater honour to it, than whatever thing moſt glorious or magnificent can be ſaid of any other country in the world. GIRALD on the contrary (as in his days they were wont to overrate Martyrdom, Celibacy, and the like, much above the poſitive duties of Religion) thinks it a reproach to the Iriſh, *that none of their Saints cemented the foundations of the growing Church with their blood, all of them being Confeſſors*, ſays he, *and not one able to boaſt of the crown of Martyrdom.* But who ſees not the vanity and abſurdity of this charge? It is blaming the Princes and People for their reaſonableneſs, moderation and humanity; as it is taxing the new Converts for not ſeditiouſly provoking them to perſecute, and for not madly running themſelves to a voluntary death, which was the unjuſtifiable conduct of many elſewhere in the primitive times of Chriſtianity. 'Tis on much better grounds, tho' with a childiſh and nauſeous jingle, that he accuſes the Iriſh Clergy of his own time: and ſo far am I from being an enemy to the Clergy, that I heartily wiſh the like could not be ſaid of any Clergy, whether there, or here, or elſewhere, from that time to this. Well then: what is it? *They are Paſtors*, ſays he (7), *who ſeek not to feed, but to be fed: Pre-*

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(6) Omnes ſancti terrae iſtius confeſſores ſunt, & nullus martyr; quod in alio regno Chriſtiano difficile erit invenire. Mirum itaque quod gens crudeliſſima & ſanguinis ſitibunda, fides ab antiquo fundata & ſemper tepidiſſima, pro Chriſti eccleſia corona martyrii nulla. Non igitur inventus eſt in partibus iſtis, qui eccleſiae ſurgentis fundamenta ſanguinis effuſione cementaret: non fuit, qui faceret hoc bonum; non fuit uſque ad unum. *Topograph. Hibern. Diſtinct.* 3. *cap.* 29.

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(7) Sunt enim paſtores, qui non paſcere quaerunt, ſed paſci: ſunt praelati, qui non prodeſſe cupiunt, ſed præeſſe: ſunt epiſcopi, qui non omen, ſed nomen; non onus, ſed honorem amplectuntur. *Id. Ibid.*

lates, who deſire not to profit, but to preſide: Biſhops, who embrace not the nature, but the name; not the burthen, but the bravery of their profeſſion. This, MY LORD, I reckon to be no digreſſion from my ſubject, ſince what little oppoſition there happen'd to be in Ireland to Chriſtianity, was wholly made by the Druids, or at their inſtigation: and that when they perceiv'd this new Religion like to prevail, none came into it ſpeedier, or made a more advantageous figure in it, than they. The Iriſh however have their *Martyrologies* (leſt this ſhou'd be objected by ſome trifler) but they are of ſuch of their nation as ſuffer'd in other countries, or under the heathen Danes in their own country, ſome hundreds of years after the total converſion of it to Chriſtianity.

V. THOSE advantages we have nam'd in the two laſt Sections, and many the like articles, with the Druids pretences to work miracles, to foretel events by Augury and otherwiſe, to have a familiar intercourſe with the Gods (highly confirm'd by calculating Eclipſes) and a thouſand impoſtures of the ſame (8) nature, I can by irrefragable authorities ſet in ſuch a light, that all of the like kind may to every one appear in as evident a view; which, as I hinted before, cannot but be very ſerviceable both to Religion and Morality. For true Religion does not conſiſt in cunningly deviſ'd fables, in authority, dominion, or pomp; but in ſpirit and truth, in ſimplicity and ſocial virtue, in a filial love and reverence, not in a ſervile dread and terror of the Divinity. As the fundamental Law of a Hiſtorian is, daring to ſay whatever is true, and not daring to write any falſhood; neither being ſway'd by love or hatred, nor gain'd by favour or intereſt: ſo he ought of courſe to be as a man of no time or country, of no ſect or party; which I hope the ſeveral nations, concern'd in this preſent enquiry, will find to be particularly true of me. But if in clearing up antient rites and cuſtoms, with the origin and inſtitution of certain religious or civil Societies (long ſince extinct) any communities or orders of men, now in being, ſhou'd think themſelves touch'd; they ought not to impute it to deſign in the author, but to the conformity of things, if indeed there be any real reſemblance: and in caſe there be none at all, they ſhould not make people apt to ſuſpect that there is, by crying out tho they are not hurt. I remember when complaint was made againſt an honourable perſon (9), that, in treating of the Heathen Prieſts, he had whipt ſome Chriſtian Prieſts on their backs; all the anſwer he made was only asking, *What made them get up there?* the benefit of which anſwer I claim beforehand to myſelf, without making or needing any other Apology. Yet if the correſpondence of any Prieſts with heaven be as ſlenderly grounded as that of the Druids, if their miracles be as fictitious and fraudulent, if their love of riches be as immoderate, if their thirſt after power be as inſatiable, and their exerciſe of it be as partial and tyrannical over the Laity: then I am not only content they ſhou'd be touch'd, whether I thought of them or not; but that they ſhou'd be blaſted too, without a poſſibility of ever ſprouting up again. For Truth will but ſhine the brighter, the better its counterfeits are ſhown: and all that I can do to ſhow my own candor, is, to leave the reader to make ſuch applications himſelf, ſeldom making any for him; ſince he that is neither clear-ſighted nor quick enough of conception to do ſo, may to as good purpoſe read the *Fairy-tales* as this *Hiſtory*.

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(8) The heads of the two laſt Sections, with theſe here mention'd (tho' conceiv'd in few words) will yet each make a ſeparate chapter in the *Hiſtory*; this preſent *Specimen* being chiefly intended for modern inſtances, as by the ſequel will appear.

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(9) Sir ROBERT HOWARD.

VI. BESIDES this impartial diſpoſition, the competent knowledge I have of the Northern languages, dead and living (tho' I ſhall prove, that no Druids, except ſuch as towards their latter end fled thither for refuge, or that went before with Celtic invaders or colonies, were ever among the Gothic nations) I ſay, theſe languages will not a little contribute to the perfection of my work, for a reaſon that may with more advantage appear in the book itſelf.

ſelf. But the knowledge of the antient Iriſh, which I learnt from my childhood, and of the other Celtic dialects, in all which I have printed books or manuſcripts (not to ſpeak of their vulgar Traditions) is abſolutely neceſſary; theſe having preſerv'd numberleſs monuments concerning the Druids, that never hitherto have come to the hands of the learned. For as the Inſtitutions of the Druids were formerly better learnt in Britain, by CESAR ſaid to be the native ſeat of this ſuperſtitious race, than in Gaule where yet it exceedingly flouriſh'd: ſo their memory is ſtill beſt preſerv'd in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, comprehending the *Hebridæ*, *Hebrides*, or Weſtern Iſles, among which the Ile of *Man*; where they continu'd long after their extermination in Gaule and South-Britain, moſtly by the Romans, but finally by the introduction of Chriſtianity. Beſides, that much of the Iriſh Heathen Mythology is ſtill extant in verſe, which gives ſuch a luſtre to this matter, and of courſe to the Greec and Roman Fragments concerning the Druids, as cou'd not poſſibly be had any other way.

VII. THUS (to give an example in the Philological part) the controverſy among the Grammarians, whether they ſhould write *Druis* or (10) *Druida* in the nominative caſe ſingular, can only be decided by the Iriſh writings, as you may ſee demonſtrated in the margin; where all Grammatical remarks ſhall be inſerted among the other *Notes* of the *Hiſtory*, if they do not properly belong to the annext *Diſſertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies*. This conduct I obſerve, to avoid any diſagreeable ſtop or perplexity in the work itſelf, by uncouth words or of difficult pronunciation. For as every thing in the Univerſe is the Subject of writing, ſo an author ought to treat of every ſubject ſmoothly and correctly, as well as pertinently and perſpicuouſly: nor ought he to be void of ornament and Elegance, where his matter peculiarly requires it. Some things want a copious ſtile, ſome a conciſe; others to be more floridly, others to be more plainly handl'd: but all to be properly, methodically, and handſomly expreſt. Neglecting theſe particulars, is neglecting, and conſequently affronting, the reader. Let a

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(10) The Iriſh word for Druid is *Drui*, corruptly *Droi*, and more corruptly *Draoi*; yet all of the ſame ſound, which in Etymologies is a great matter: and in the nominative plu-

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ral 'tis *Druidhe*, whence comes no doubt the Greec and Latin *Druides*; as *Druis* in the ſingular was form'd by only adding *s* to *Drui*, according to thoſe nations way of terminating. But as theſe words in Iriſh as well as the Brittiſh *Drudion*, are common to both ſexes; ſo the Romans, according to their inflection, diſtinguiſh'd *Druida* for a She-Druid (which ſort are mention'd by authors) whereof the nominative plural being *Druidae*, it ought by us to be uſed in that ſenſe only: and ſo I conclude, that in our modern Latin compoſitions *Druides* and *Druidae* ſhou'd not be confounded; as they have frequently been by the Tranſcribers of old writings, who milled others. We are not to be mov'd therefore by reading *Druidae* in any Latin author in the maſculin gender, or in the Greec writers, who certainly us'd it ſo. All equivocation at leaſt will be thus taken away.

Lady be as well-ſhap'd as you can fancy, let all her features be faultleſs, and her complexion be ever ſo delicate: yet if ſhe be careleſs of her perſon, tawdry in her dreſs, or aukward in her gate and behavior, a man of true taſte is ſo far from being touch'd with the charms of her body, that he's immediately prepoſſeſt againſt the beauties of her mind; and apt to believe there can be no order within, where there's ſo much diſorder without. In my opinion therefore, the *Muſes* themſelves are never agreeable company without the *Graces*. Or if, as your Lordſhip's ſtile is remarkably ſtrong, you wou'd, with (11) Cicero, take this ſimile from a man; you'll own 'tis not enough to make him be lik'd, that he has well-knit bones, nerves and ſinews: there muſt be likewiſe proportion, muſcling, and coloring, much blood, and ſome ſoftneſs. To relate facts without their circumſtances, whereon depends all Inſtruction; is to exhibit a skeleton without the fleſh, wherein conſiſts all comelyneſs. This I ſay to your Lordſhip, not pretending to teach the art of writing to one, who's ſo fit to be my maſter; but to obviate the cenſures of thoſe, and to cenſure 'em in their turns, who not only do not treat of ſuch ſubjects as I have now undertaken in a flowing and continu'd ſtile, but peremtorily deny the fields of Antiquity and Criticiſm to be capable of this culture: and indeed as ſuffering under the drudgery of their hands, they generally become barren heaths or unpaſſable thickets; where you are blinded with ſand, or torn with bryars and brambles. There's no choice of words or expreſſions. All is low and vulgar, or obſolete and muſty; as the whole diſcourſe is crabbed, hobbling, and jejune. Not that I wou'd have too much licenſe taken in this reſpect; for tho none ought to be ſlaves to any ſet of words, yet great judgement is to be imploy'd in creating a new, or reviving an old word: nor muſt there be leſs diſcretion in the uſe of figures and ſentences; which, like imbroidery and ſalt, are to ſet off and ſeaſon, but not to render the cloth inviſible, or the meat uneatable. To conclude this point, we are told by the moſt eloquent of men, that a profuſe (12) volubility, and a ſordid exility of words, are to be equally avoided. And now after this Digreſſion, if any thing that eſſentially relates to my task can be properly call'd one, I return to the Druids, who were ſo prevalent in Ireland, that to this hour their ordinary word for Magician is *Druid* (13), the art Magic is call'd *Druidity* (14), and the wand, which was one of the badges of their profeſſion, *the rod of Druidiſm* (15). Among antient Claſſic authors PLINY is the moſt expreſs concerning the Magic of the

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(11) De Oratore, lib. 1.

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(12) CICERO de Oratore, lib. 1.
(13) *Drui.*
(14) *Druidheacht.*
(15) *Slatnan Druidheacht.*

Druids, whereof the old Iriſh and Brittiſh Books are full: which Legerdemain, or ſecrets of Natural Philoſophy (as all Magic is either the one, or the other, or both) we ſhall indeavor to lay open in our *Hiſtory of the Druids*; not forgetting any old author that mentions them, for there's ſomething particular to be learnt in every one of them, as they touch different circumſtances. Having occaſionally ſpoken of the Wand or Staff which every Druid carry'd in his hand, as one of the badges of his profeſſion (and which in a chapter on this ſubject will be ſhown to have been a uſual thing with all pretenders to magic) I muſt here acquaint you further, that each of 'em had what was commonly call'd the *Druid's Egg* (which ſhall be explain'd in the *Hiſtory*) hung about his neck inchas'd in gold. They all wore ſhort hair, while the reſt of the natives had theirs very long: and, on the contrary, they wore long beards, while other people ſhav'd all theirs but the upper lip. They likewiſe all wore long habits, as did the Bards and the Vaids: but the Druids had on a white Surplice, whenever they religiouſly officiated. In Ireland they, with the graduate Bards and Vaids, had the privilege of wearing ſix colors in their *Breacans* or robes (which were the ſtrip'd Braccae of the Gauls, ſtill worn by the Highlanders) whereas the King and Queen might have in theirs but ſeven, Lords and Ladies five, Governors of Fortreſſes four, Officers and young Gentlemen of quality three, common Soldiers two, and common people one. This ſumtuary Law moſt of the Iriſh Hiſtorians ſay, was enacted under King (16) ACHAIUS the firſt; tho others, who will have this to be but the reviving of an old Law, maintain it was firſt eſtabliſh'd by king TIGERNMHAS.

VIII. AS the Druids were commonly wont to retire into grots, dark woods, mountains, and (17) groves (in which laſt they had their numerous Schools, not without houſes as ſome have fooliſhly dreamt,) ſo many ſuch places in France, Britain, and Ireland, do ſtill bear their names: as *Dreux,* the place of their annual General Aſſembly in France; *Kerig-y-Drudion* (or Druid-ſtones) a pariſh ſo call'd in Denbighſhire, from a couple of their Altars there ſtill remaining. In Angleſey there's the Village of *Tre'r Driú,* the town of the Druid, next to which is *Tre'r Beirdh* or Bards-town: as alſo in another place of the ſame Iland *Maen-y-Druú,* that is, the Druid's ſtone; and *Caer-Dreúin,* or the city of the Druids, in Merionethſhire. The places in Ireland and the Hebrides are infinite. The preſent ignorant vulgar, in the firſt of the laſt-mention'd places, do believe, that thoſe Inchanters were at laſt themſelves inchanted by their Apoſtle PATRIC and his Diſciples, miraculouſly confining them to the places that ſo bear their names; where they are thought to retain much power, and ſometimes to appear, which are (18) fancies like the Engliſh notion of Fairies. Thus the Druid O MURNIN inhabits the hill of Creag-a-Vanny in Iniſoën, AUNIUS (19) in Benavny from him ſo call'd in the county of Londonderry, and GEALCOSSA (20) in Gealcoſſa's mount in Iniſoën aforeſaid in the county of Dunegall. This laſt was a Druideſs, and her name is of the Homerical ſtrain, ſignifying *White-legg'd* (21). On this hill is her grave (the true inchantment that confines her) and hard by is her Temple; being a ſort of diminutive *Stonehenge*, which many of the old Iriſh dare not even at this day any way profane. I ſhall diſcover ſuch things about theſe Temples (whereof multitudes are ſtill exiſting, many of them intire, in the Hebrides, in Orkney, and on the oppoſite continent; as alſo many in Wales, in Jerſey and Guernſey, and ſome in England and Ireland, the moſt remarkable to be accurately deſcrib'd and delineated in our *Hiſtory*)

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(16) EOCHAID EUDGHATHACH.

(17) Theſe Groves for pleaſure and retirement, as well as for awe and reverence, were different from the lurking places in foreſts and caves, into which they were forc'd when interdicted in Gaule and Britain.

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(18) Such fancies came from the hiding of the perſecuted Druids, from the reign of TIBERIUS, who made the firſt law againſt them (having been diſcountenanced by AUGUSTUS) but ſtrictly put in execution by CLAUDIUS, and the following Emperors, till their utter extirpation by the general converſion of the people to Chriſtianity.

(19) AIBHNE, or OIBHNE.

(20) GEALCHOSSACH.

(21) *Cnuc na* GEALCHOSSAIGH.

I ſhall diſcover ſuch things, I ſay, about the famous Egg of the Druids, to the learned hitherto a riddle, not to ſpeak of their magical gems and herbs: as alſo about their favourite All-heal or (22) Miſſelto, gather'd with ſo much ceremony by a Prieſt in his white Surplice, as PLINY (23) tells us, and with a gold pruning-knife; as well as about the abſtruſeſt parts of their Philoſophy and Religion, that the like has not yet appear'd in any author, who has treated of them. The books of ſuch are either bare collections of Fragments, or a heap of precarious fables; I mean eſpecially ſome French writers on this Subject, as PICARD, FORCATULUS, GUENEBAUT, with others of no better allay in Britain and Germany; for as I admit nothing without good authority, ſo I juſtly expect, that, without as good, nothing will be admitted from me.

IX. BUT, MY LORD, beſides theſe Druids, the antient Gauls, Britons, and Iriſh, had another order of Learned men, call'd BARDS, whereof we ſhall ſufficiently diſcourſe in our propos'd work. *Bard* is ſtill the Iriſh and Scottiſh word, as *Bardh* the Armoric and Brittiſh. There's no difference in the pronunciation, tho', according to their different manner of writing in expreſſing the power of the letters, they vary a little in the orthography (24). The Bards were divided into three orders or degrees; namely (to give an example now in the Brittiſh dialect, as I ſhall give their turns to all the Celtic colonies) *Privardh*, *Poſvardh*, and *Arúyvardh*: but, with regard to the ſubjects whereof they treated, they were call'd *Prududh*, or *Tevluúr*, or *Clerúr*; which words, with the equivalent Iriſh names, ſhall be explain'd in our *Hiſtory*, where you'll find this diviſion of the Bards well warranted. The firſt were Chronologers, the ſecond Heralds, and the third Comic or Satyrical Poets among the vulgar: for the ſecond ſort did ſing the praiſes of great men in the heroic ſtrain, very often at the head of armies, like him in VIRGIL

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(22) All theſe heads will be ſo many intire Chapters.

(23) Sacerdos, candidâ veſte cultus, arborem ſcandit: falce aureâ demetit. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 16. *cap.* 44.

Cretea muſarum comitem, cui carmina ſemper
Et citharae cordi, numeroſque intendere nervis;
Semper equos, atq; arma virûm, pugnaſq; canebat:

Virg. Aen. lib. 9.

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(24) Let it be noted once for all, that as in other tongues, ſo in Iriſh and Welſh particularly, *t* and *d* are commonly put for each other, by reaſon of their affinity; and that *dh* and *gh* being pronounc'd alike in Iriſh, and therefore often confounded, yet an exact writer will always have regard to the origin as well as to the analogy of any word: and ſo he'll write *Druidhe* (for example) and not *Druighe*, much leſs *Draoithe* broadly and aſpirately; nor will he uſe any other miſpellings, tho' ever ſo common in books. This is well obſerv'd by an old author, who writing of CONLA a heathen freethinking Judge of Connacht, thus characterizes him; *Se do rinne an choinbhliocht ris na Druidhibh*: 'twas he that diſputed againſt the Druids. Theſe Criticiſms, ſome wou'd ſay, are trifles: but

Hae nugae in ſeria ducunt.

and the firſt, who likewiſe accompany'd them in peace, did hiſtorically regiſter their genealogies and atchievments. We have ſome proofs that the Panegyrics of the Gallic Bards did not always want wit no more than flattery; and particularly an inſtance out of ATHENEUS, who had it from POSIDONIUS the Stoic, concerning (26) LUERNIUS a Gallic Prince, extraordinary rich, liberal, and magnificent. He was the father of that ſame BITTUS, who was beaten by the Romans. Now this LUERNIUS (ſays (27) my author) *having appointed a certain day for a feaſt, and one of the Barbarous Poets coming too late, met him as he was departing; whereupon he began to ſing his praiſes and to extol his grandeur, but to lament his own unhapy delay.* LUERNIUS *being delighted, call'd for a purſe of gold, which he threw to him, as he ran by the ſide of his chariot: and he taking it up, begun to ſing again to this purpoſe*; THAT OUT OF THE TRACKS HIS CHARIOT HAD PLOW'D ON THE GROUND, SPRUNG UP GOLD AND BLESSINGS TO MANKIND. As ſome of the Gallic Bards were truely ingenious, ſo were many of 'em mere quiblers: and among the bombaſt of the Brittiſh and Iriſh Bards, there want not infinite inſtances of the true Sublime. Their Epigrams were admirable, nor do the modern Italians equal them in conceits. But in ſtirring the paſſions, their Elegies or Lamentations far excede thoſe of the Greecs, becauſe they expreſs nature much more naturally. Theſe Bards are not yet quite extinct, there being of them in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland: nor did any country in the world abound like the laſt with this ſort of men, whoſe licentious panegyrics or ſatyrs have not a little contributed to breed confuſion in the Iriſh Hiſtory. There were often at a time a thouſand *Ollaws* (28) or graduate Poets, beſides a proportionable number of inferior Rhymers, who all of 'em liv'd moſt of the year on free coſt: and, what out of fear of their railing, or love of their flattery, no body durſt deny them any thing, be it armor, fewel, horſe, mantle, or the like; which grew into a general cuſtom, whereof the Poets did not fail to take the advantage. The great men, out of ſelf love and intereſt, incourag'd no other kind of Learning, eſpecially after they profeſt Chriſtianity: the good regulation, under which they were in the time of Druidiſm, as then in ſome manner belonging to the Temples, having been deſtroyed with that Religion. In a ſmall time they became ſuch a grievance, that ſeveral attemts were made to rid the nation of them: and, which is ſomething comical (what at leaſt our preſent Poets would not extraordinarily like) the orders for baniſhing them were always to the Highlands of Scotland; while they were as often harbor'd in Ulſter, till upon promiſe of amendment (of their manners I mean and not of their Poetry) they were permitted to return to the other Provinces. At laſt, in a general national aſſembly, or Parliament, at Drumcat (29) in the country we now call the county of Londonderry, under (30) AIDUS ANMIREUS the 11th Chriſtian King, in the year 597, where was alſo preſent (31) AIDUS King of Scotland and the great (32) COLUMBA, it was decreed: that for the better preſervation of their Hiſtory, Genealogies, and the purity of their Language, the ſupreme Monarch, and the ſubordinate Kings, with every Lord of a Cantred, ſhould entertain a Poet of his own (no more being allowed by antient law in the Iland) and that upon each of theſe and their poſterity a portion of land, free from all duties, ſhou'd be ſettl'd for ever; that, for incouraging the Learning theſe Poets and Antiquaries profeſt, public Schools ſhou'd be appointed and indow'd, under the national inſpection; and that the Monarch's own Bard ſhou'd be ARCH-POET (33), and have ſuper-intendency over the reſt. 'Tis a common miſtake, into which father PEZRON has fallen among others, that the Bards belong'd to the body of the Druids: but this is not the place to rectify it. They made Hymns for the uſe of the Temples, 'tis true, and manag'd the Muſic there; but they were the Druids that officiated as Prieſts, and no Sacrifices were offer'd but by their miniſtry.

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(26) Whether it be LUERNIUS, or as STRABO writes it LUERIUS, the name is frequent either way in the antienteſt Iriſh Writers, as LOARN, and LUIRE or LUGHAIRE.

(27) Αφορισαντος δ᾽ αυτου προθεσμιαν ποτε της θοινης, αφυστερησαντα τινα των βαρβαρων ποιητην αφικεσθαι; και συναντησαντα μετ᾽ ωδης ὑμνειν αυτου την ὑπεροχην, ἑαυτον δ᾽ ὑποθρηνειν ὁτι ὑστερηκε: τονδε τερφθεντα θυλακιον αιτησαι χρυσιου, και ριψαι αυτω παρατρεχοντι; ανελομενον δ᾽ εκεινον παλιν ὑμνειν, λεγοντα, διο και τα ιχνη της γης (εφ᾽ ἧς ἁρματηλατει) χρυσον και ευεργεσιας ανθρωποις φερει. *Edit. Lvgd. lib. 4. pag. 152.*

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(28) *Ollamh* is a Profeſſor or Doctor in any faculty.

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(29) *Druim-ceat* alias *Druimcheat*.
(30) AODHMHAC AINMHIRE.
(31) AODHANMHAC GAURAIN.
(32) COLUIM-CILLE.
(33) *Ard-Ollamh*.

X. IN the *Hiſtory* likewiſe ſhall be fully explain'd the third order of the Celtic Literati, by the Greecs call'd OUATEIS, and by the Romans VATES; which yet is neither Greec nor Roman, but a mere Celtic word, viz. FAIDH, which ſignifies to this day a prophet in all Iriſh books, and in the common language, particularly in the Iriſh tranſlation of the Bible; where *Druids* (34) are alſo commonly put for Inchanters, as thoſe of Egypt, and eſpecially for the *Mages*, or as we tranſlate, *the wiſe men* (35) that came from the eaſt, to viſit JESUS in his cradle. So eaſily do men convey their own ideas into other men's books, or find 'em there; which has been the ſource of infinite miſtakes, not onely in Divinity, but alſo in Philoſophy and Philology. The Celtic (36) VAIDS were Phyſicians and Diviners, great proficients in natural Philoſophy (as were likewiſe the Druids, who had the particular inſpection of Morals) but Cicero, who was well acquainted with one of the prime Druids, remarks, that their predictions were as much grounded on (37) conjecture, as on the rules of Augury: both equally fortuitous and fallacious. For the ſaying of Euripides will ever hold true, that (38) *the beſt gueſſer is the beſt Prophet.* He that is nearly acquainted with the ſtate of affairs, that underſtands the ſprings of human actions, and, that, judiciouſly allowing for circumſtances, compares the preſent time with the paſt: he, I ſay, will make a ſhrewd gueſs at the future. By this time, My Lord, you begin to perceive what is to be the Subject of the *Hiſtory* I intend to write; which, tho a piece of general Learning and great curioſity, yet I ſhall make it my buſineſs ſo to digeſt: as to render it no leſs intertaining than inſtructive to all ſorts of readers, without excepting the Ladies, who are pritty much concern'd in this

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(34) *Draoithe.* Exod. 7. 11. Anois Draoithe na Hégipte dor innedurſanfós aran modhgceadna le nandroigheachtuibh.

(35) Mat. 2. 1. Feuch Tangadar Draoithe o naird ſhoir go Hiaruſalem.

(36) The word is *Faidh* (or *Vait* by the uſual converſion of the Letters *F* into *V* and *D* into *T*) whence the Latins made

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made *Vates*; and their Critics acknowledge, that they took many words from the Gauls. The *Euhages* and *Eubages*, in ſome copies of Ammianus Marcellinus, are falſe readings, as in time will appear. So are *Druſi*, *Druſides*, and *Druſiades* for *Druides*: as likewiſe *Vardi*, from the Brittiſh and Iriſh oblique caſes of *Bard*.

(37) Siquidem & in Gallia Druides ſunt, e quibus ipſe Divitiacum Aeduum, hoſpitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi (*inquit* Quintus) qui & naturae rationem, quam phyſiologiam Graeci appellant, notam eſſe ſibi profitebatur; & partim Auguriis, partim conjecturâ, quae eſſent futura dicebat. *De Divinat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 41.

(38) Μαντις αριϛος, οϛις εικαζει καλως.

matter; throwing, as I told you before, all my Critical Obſervations, and Diſquiſitions about words, into the margin, or the *Diſſertation* annext to the *Hiſtory*. As to what I ſay of the Ladies being concern'd in this *Hiſtory*, there were not only Druideſſes; but ſome even of the higheſt rank were ſuch, and Princeſſes themſelves were educated by the Druids: for in our own *Annals* we read, that the two daughters of King (39) LAOGIRIUS (in whoſe reign PATRIC preach'd Chriſtianity) were educated by them; and we have the particulars of a long diſpute thoſe young Ladies maintained againſt this new Religion, very natural but very ſubtil. Several other Ladies bred under the Druids became famous for their writings and proficiency in learning, of ſome of whom we ſhall occaſionally give an account: but leſt I ſhou'd be thought in every thing to flatter the Sex, how much ſoever I reſpect them, I refer the reader to a ſtory in my third *Letter*. But, in order to complete my deſign, ſo as to leave no room for any to write on this ſubject after me; and alſo to procure ſeveral valuable *Manuſcripts*, or authentic copies of them (well knowing where they ly) I purpoſe towards the Spring to take a journey for at leaſt ſix months: which, at our next meeting, I ſhall do my ſelf the honour to impart to your Lordſhip very particularly.

(39) LAOGHAIRE.

XI. THE Iriſh (a few Scandinavian and Daniſh words excepted) being not only a Dialect of the antient Celtic or Gallic, but being alſo liker the mother than her other daughter the Britiſh; and the Iriſh Manuſcripts being more numerous and much antienter than the Welſh, ſhows beyond all contradiction the neceſſity of this language for retrieving the knowledge of the Celtic Religion and Learning. CAMDEN and others have long ſince taken notice of the agreement between the preſent Brittiſh and thoſe old Gallic words collected by learned men out of Greec and Roman authors: and the induſtrious Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, late keeper of the *Muſeum* at Oxford, perceiv'd this affinity between the ſame words and the Iriſh, even before he ſtudy'd that language, by the demonſtration I gave him of the ſame in all the ſaid inſtances. Nor does he deny this agreement in *the comparative Etymologicon* he afterwards made of thoſe languages, where he quotes CAMDEN and BOXHORNIUS affirming it about the Gallic and Brittiſh: *but there being*, ſays he (40), *no Vocabulary extant* [meaning no doubt in print] *of the Iriſh, or antient Scottiſh, they cou'd not collate that language therewith, which the curious in theſe ſtudies will now find to agree rather more than ours, with the Gauliſh.* That it does ſo, is abſolute fact, as will be ſeen by hundreds of inſtances in this preſent work.

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(40) *In the preface to his Archæologia Britannica*, pag. 1.

I am aware that what I am going to ſay will ſound very oddly, and ſeem more than a paradox; but I deſerve, My Lord, and ſhall be content with your ſevereſt cenſure, if, before you have finiſh'd reading theſe ſheets, you be not firmly of the ſame mind your ſelf: namely, that, without the knowlege of the Iriſh Language and Books, the Gallic Antiquities (not meaning the Francic) can never be ſet in any tolerable light, with regard either to words or to things; and numerous occaſions there will occur in this *Hiſtory* of illuſtrating both words and things even in the Greec and Roman authors. I ſhall here give one example of this, ſince I juſt come from treating of the ſeveral profeſſors of Learning common to the antient Gauls, Britons, and Scots, viz. the Druids, Bards, and Vaids. Lucian (41) relates that in Gaule he ſaw Hercules repreſented as a little old man, whom in the language of the country they call'd OGMIUS; drawing after him an infinite multitude of perſons, who ſeem'd moſt willing to follow, tho drag'd by extreme fine and almoſt imperceptible chains: which were faſten'd at the one end to their ears, and held at the other, not in either of Hercules's hands, which were both otherwiſe imploy'd; but ty'd to the tip of his tongue, in which there was a hole on purpoſe, where all thoſe chains center'd. Lucian wondring at this manner of portraying Hercules, was inform'd by a learned Druid who ſtood by, that Hercules did not in Gaule, as in Greece, betoken *Strength of Body*, but the *Force of Eloquence*; which is there very beautifully diſplay'd by the Druid, in his explication of the picture that hung in the Temple. Now, the Critics of all nations have made a heavy pother about this ſame word OGMIUS, and laboriouſly ſought for the meaning of it every where, but juſt where it was to be found. The moſt celebrated Bochart, who, againſt the grain of nature (if I may ſo ſpeak) wou'd needs reduce all things to Phenician; ſays it is an Oriental word, ſince the Arabians (42) call ſtrangers and barbarians *Agemion*: as if, becauſe the Phenicians traded antiently to Gaule and the Brittiſh Ilands (for Colonies in them they planted none) they muſt have alſo imported their Language; and, with their other commodities, barter'd it for ſomething to the natives, naming their places, their men, and their Gods for them. Our preſent Britons, who are at leaſt as great Traders, do not find they can do ſo in Phenicia, nor nearer home in Greece and Italy, nor yet at their own doors in this very Gaule: beſides that Lucian does poſitively affirm OGMIUS was a Gallic word, *a word* (43) *of the country*. This has not hinder'd a learned Engliſh Phyſician, Dr. Edmund Dickenson, from hunting ſtill in the Eaſt for a derivation of it; conjecturing

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(41) Τον Ἑρακλεα ὁι Κελτοι ΟΓΜΙΟΝ ονομαζουσι Φωνη πη επιχωριω, et quae ſequuntur in Hercule Gallico: Graeca etenim longiora ſunt, quàm ut hic commodè inſeri poſſint.

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(42) In *Geographia Sacra ſive Canaan, part. 2. cap.* 42.

(43) Φωνῃ τῃ επιχωριῳ. *Ubi ſupra.*

HERCULES to be (44) JOSHUA, who was ſurnamed OGMIUS, for having conquer'd OG King of Baſhan:

> *O! ſanctas gentes! quibus haec naſcuntur*
> *in hortis*
> *Numina.* JUVENAL. *Sat.* 15. ver. 10.

I could make your Lordſhip yet merryer, or rather angrier, at theſe forc'd and far-fetch'd Etymologies, together with others hammer'd as wretchedly out of Greec, nay even out of Suediſh and German. But the word OGMIUS, as LUCIAN was truely inform'd, is pure Celtic; and ſignifies (to uſe TACITUS's (45) phraſe about the Germans) *the Secret of Letters*, particularly the Letters themſelves, and conſequently the Learning that depends on them, from whence the FORCE OF ELOQUENCE procedes: ſo that HERCULES OGMIUS is *the learned* HERCULES, or HERCULES *the Protector of Learning*, having by many been reputed himſelf a (46) Philoſopher.

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(44) JOSUAM quoque ſpectaſſe videtur illud nomen, quo Galli antiquitus HERCULEM nuncupabant. Unde verò Ογμιος? Annon ab OG victo? *Delph. Phoenicizant. cap.* 3.

(45) Literarum Secreta viri pariter ac foeminae ignorant. *De moribus Germanorum, cap.* 19.

(46) Εν δε τοις χρονοις της βασιλειας τȣ Φοινικος ην Ἑρακλης, ὁ Φιλοσοφος Τυριος, ὁϛις εφευρε την κογχυλην, &c. *Palaephati fragmentum in Chronico Alexandrino.* Ἑρακλης Αλκμηνης ὑιος. Τουτον Φιλοσοφον ἱϛορουσι, &c. *Suidas in voce* Ἑρακλης. *Et diu ante* SUIDAM *audiebat apud* HERACLITUM, *in* Allegoriis HOMERICIS, Ανηρ εμφρων, και σοφιας ουρανιου μυϛης, ὡσπερει κατα βαθειας αχλυος επιθεδυκυιαν εφωτιζε την Φιλοσοφιαν, καθαπερ ὁμολογουσι και Στωϊκων οἱ δοκιμωτατοι.

To prove this account of the word, ſo natural and ſo apt, be pleas'd to underſtand, that, from the very beginning of the Colony, OGUM, ſometimes written OGAM, and alſo (47) OGMA, has ſignify'd in Ireland the Secret of Letters, or *the Iriſh Alphabet*; for the truth of which I appeal to all the antient Iriſh Books, without a ſingle exception. 'Tis one of the moſt authentic words of the language, and originally ſtands for this notion alone. Indeed after PATRIC had converted the nation, and, for the better propagating of Chriſtian Books, introduc'd the uſe of the Roman Letters (inſtead of the antient manner of writing) their primitive Letters, very different from thoſe they now uſe, began by degrees to grow obſolete; and at laſt legible only by Antiquaries and other curious men, to whom they ſtood in as good ſtead as any kind of occult characters: whence it happen'd that OGUM, from ſignifying the *ſecret of writing*, came to ſignify *ſecret writing*, but ſtill principally meaning the original Iriſh Characters. There are ſeveral Manuſcript Treatiſes extant, deſcribing and teaching the various methods of this ſecret Writing; as one in the College-Library of (48) Dublin, and another in that of his Grace the Duke of (49) Chandois. Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, relating how *the antient Iriſh did, beſides the vulgar characters, practiſe alſo divers ways and arts of occult writing, call'd OGUM, in which they wrote their ſecrets*; *I have*, continues (50) he, *an antient parchment Book full of theſe*, which is the ſame juſt now ſaid to belong to the Duke of Chandois: and Dudley (51) Forbes, a hereditary Antiquary, wrote to the rather laborious than judicious Chronogiſt (52) O Flaherty, in the Year 1683, that he had ſome of the primitive (53) *Birch-tables* (for thoſe they had before the uſe of parchment or paper) and many ſorts of the old occult writing by him. Theſe are principally the *Ogham-beith*, the *Ogham-coll*, and the (54) *Ogham-craoth*, which laſt is the old one and the true. But that the primary Iriſh Letters, the Letters firſt in common uſe, which in the manner we have ſhown, became accidentally occult, were originally meant by the word OGUM; beſides the appeal made above to all antient authors, is plain in particular from Forchern, a noted Bard and Philoſopher, who liv'd a little before Christ. This learned man aſcribing with others the invention of Letters to the Phenicians, or rather more ſtrictly and properly to Phenix (whom the Iriſh call Fenius *farſaidh*, or Phenix *the antient*) ſays, that, among other Alphabets, as the Hebrew, Greec, and Latin, he alſo compos'd that of (55) *Bethluiſnion an Oghuim*, the *Alphabet of Ogum*, or the Iriſh Alphabet, meaning that he invented the firſt Letters, in imitation of which the Alphabets of thoſe Nations were made. OGUM is alſo taken in this ſenſe by the beſt modern writers: as William (56) O Donell, afterwards Archbiſhop of Tuam, in his preface to the Iriſh *New Teſtament*, dedicated to King James the Firſt, and printed at Dublin in the Year 1602, ſpeaking of one of his aſſiſtants, ſays, that *he enjoin'd him to write the other part according to the Ogum and propriety of the Iriſh tongue*; where OGUM muſt neceſſarily ſignify the Alphabet, Orthography, and true manner of writing Iriſh. From all this it is clear, why among the Gauls, of whom the Iriſh had their Language and Religion, Hercules, as the protector of Learning, ſhou'd be call'd Ogmius, the termination alone being Greec. Nor is this all. Ogma was not only a known proper name in Ireland, but alſo one of the moſt antient; ſince OGMA GRIANANN, the father of King (57) DALBOETIUS, was one of the firſt of the Danannan race, many ages before LUCIAN's time. He was a very learned man, marry'd to EATHNA a famous Poetefs, who bore, beſides the fore-mention'd Monarch, CAIRBRE likewiſe a Poet: inſomuch that OGMA was deſervedly ſurnamed (58) GRIANANN, which is to ſay *Phebean*, where you may obſerve Learning ſtill attending this name. The Celtic Language being now almoſt extinct in Gaule, except onely in lower Britanny, and ſuch Gallic words as remain ſcatter'd among the French; ſubſiſts however intire in the ſeveral (59) dialects of the Celtic Colonies, as do the words *Ogum* and OGMA particularly in Iriſh. Nor is there any thing better known to the learned, or will appear more undeniable in the ſequel of this work, than that words loſt in one dialect of the ſame common language, are often found in another: as a Saxon word (for example) grown obſolete in Germany, but remaining yet in England, may be alſo us'd in Switzerland; or another word grown out of date in England, and floriſhing ſtill in Denmark, continues likewiſe in Iceland. So moſt of the antiquated Engliſh words are more or

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(47) As in the Dublin College Manuſcript, to be preſently cited.

(48) 'Tis, among other pieces, in *the Book of Ballimore*; being the 255th volum in the Dublin Catalogue, in parchment, folio, D. 18.

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(49) Anonymi cujuſdam Tractatus de variis apud Hibernos veteres occultis ſcribendi formulis, Hibernicè OGUM dictis.

(50) Praeter characteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hiberni variis occultis ſcribendi formulis ſeu artificiis, OGUM dictis, quibus ſecreta ſua ſcribebant: his refertum habeo libellum membranaceum antiquum. *Cap.* 2.

(51) Dualtach mhac Firbis.

(52) Rudhruigh O Flaith-bheartuigh.

(53) *Ogygia, part.* 3. *cap.* 30.

(54) *Ogum-branches.*

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(55) Fenius Farsaidh Alphabeta prima Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Latinorum, et Bethluiſnion an Oghuim, compoſuit. *Ex* Forcherni *libro, octingentis retro annis Latinè reddito.*

(56) William O Domhnuill.

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(57) DEALBHAOITH.

(58) *Grian* is the Sun, and *Grianann* Sun-like, or belonging to the Sun.

(59) Theſe are Brittiſh, Welſh, Corniſh, Iriſh, Manks, and Earſe.

leſs corruptly extant in Friezland, Jutland, and the other Northern countries; with not a few in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in the old Engliſh Pale in Ireland.

XII. NOW, from the name of HERCULES let's come to his perſon, or at leaſt to the perſon acknowledg'd to have been one of the Heros worſhip'd by the Gauls, and ſuppos'd by the Greecs and Romans to be HERCULES. On this occaſion I cannot but reflect on the oppoſite conduct, which the Learned and the Unlearned formerly obſerv'd, with reſpect to the Gods and divine matters. If, thro the ignorance or ſuperſtition of the people, any fable, tho ever ſo groſs, was generally receiv'd in a Religion; the Learned being aſham'd of ſuch an abſurdity, yet not daring openly to explode any thing wherein the Prieſts found their account, explain'd it away by emblems and allegories importing a reaſonable meaning, of which the firſt authors never thought: and if the Learned on the other hand, either to procure the greater veneration for their dictates, or the better to conceal their ſentiments from the profane Vulgar, did poetically diſcourſe of the Elements and qualities of Matter, of the Conſtellations or the Planets, and the like effects of Nature, veiling them as perſons; the common ſort immediately took them for ſo many perſons in good earneſt, and render'd 'em divine worſhip under ſuch forms, as the Prieſts judg'd fitteſt to repreſent them. Objects of divine worſhip have been coin'd out of the rhetorical flights of Orators, or the flattering addreſſes of Panegyriſts: even metaphors and epithets have been transform'd into Gods, which procur'd mony for the Prieſts as well as the beſt; and this by ſo much the more, as ſuch objects were multiply'd. This is the unavoidable conſequence of deviating ever ſo little from plain TRUTH, which is never ſo heartily and highly reverenc'd, as when appearing in her native ſimplicity; for as ſoon as her genuine beauties are indeavor'd to be heightn'd by borrow'd ornaments, and that ſhe's put under a diſguiſe in gorgeous apparel: ſhe quickly becomes, like others affecting ſuch a dreſs, a mercenary proſtitute, wholly acting by vanity, artifice, or intereſt, and never ſpeaking but in ambiguous or unintelligible terms; while the admiration of her Lovers is firſt turn'd into amazement, as it commonly ends in contemt and hatred. But over and above the difficulty, which theſe proceedings have occaſion'd in the Hiſtory of antient Time, there ariſes a greater from Time itſelf deſtroying infinite circumſtances, the want whereof cauſes that to ſeem afterwards obſcure, which at the beginning was very clear and eaſy. To this we may join the prepoſterous emulation of nations, in aſcribing to their own Gods or Heros, whatever qualities were preeminent in thoſe of others. That moſt judicious writer (57) *about*

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(57) Φουρνουτου θεωρια περι της των θεων Φυσεως, vulgò: ſed, ut RAVII codex & Vaticanus legunt (notante doctiſſimo GALEO) verus titulus eſt Κορνουτου επιδρομη των κατα την Ἑλληνικην θεωριαν παραδιδομενων.

the nature of the Gods, commonly call'd PHURNUTUS (tho his true name was CORNUTUS, a Stoic Philoſopher) whom I ſhall have frequent occaſion to quote hereafter, “ owns the great “ (58) variety, and conſequently the perplexedneſs and obſcurity, that occurs in the Hiſtory “ of HERCULES; whereby it is difficult to “ know certainly what were his real atchievments, or what were fabulouſly father'd up- “ on him: but having been an excellent General, who had in diverſe countries ſignaliz'd his valor, he thinks it not probable, “ that he went onely arm'd with a Lion's “ skin and a Club; but that he was repreſented after his death with theſe, as ſymbols of generoſity and fortitude, for which “ reaſon alſo he was pictur'd with a bow and “ arrows.” To this let me add, that ſeveral valiant men in ſeveral nations having, in imitation of ſome one man any where, been called or rather ſurnam'd Hercules; not only the works of many, as ſubduing of Tyrants, exterminating of wild beaſts, promoting or exerciſing of commerce, and protecting or improving of Learning have been aſcrib'd to one:

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(58) Το δε δυςδιακριτα γεγονεναι τα τȣ θεου ιδια, απο των περι του Ἡρωος ἱϛορουμενων. Ταχα δ᾽αν ἡ λεοντη και το ροπαλον εκ της παλαιας θεολογιας επι τουτον μετενηνεγμενα ειη; ϛρατηγον γαρ αυτον γενομενον αγαθον, και πολλα μερη της γης μετα δυναμεως επελθοντα, ουχ᾽ οιον τε γυμνον εδοξαν περιεληλυθεναι ξυλῳ μονῳ ὡπλισμενον: αλλα τοις * επισημοις του θεου, μετα τον απαθανατισμον, ὑπο των ευεργετουμενων κεκοσμησθαι; συμβολον γαρ ἑκατερον ειη ρωμης και γενναιοτητος. &c. cap. 31.

* Alii πισυνοις.

but that alſo wherever any robuſt perſon was found repreſented with a skin and a club, a bow and arrows, he was ſtraight deem'd to be HERCULES; whence the Egyptian, the Indian, the Tyrian, the Cretan, the Grecian or Theban, and the Gallic HERCULES. This was a conſtant way with the Greecs and Romans, who (for example) from certain reſemblances perfectly accidental, conjectur'd that ISIS was honour'd by the (59) Germans, and BACCHUS worſhip'd by the (60) Jews, which laſt notion is refuted even by their enemy (61) TACITUS. Such ſuperficial diſcoveries about the *Celtic Divinities* I ſhall abundantly expoſe. Yet that *Ogmius* might be really the Grecian HERCULES, well known in Gaule, it will be no valid exception that he was by the Druids Theologically made the Symboll of the *Force of Eloquence*, for which that country has been ever diſtinguiſh'd and eſteem'd: ſince even in Greece he was, as PHURNUTUS aſſures us, myſtically accounted (62) *that Reaſon which is diffus'd thro*

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(59) Pars Suevorum & Iſidi ſacrificat. Unde cauſa et origo peregrino ſacro parum comperi; niſi quod ſignum ipſum, in modum Liburnae figuratum, docet advectam Religionem. TACIT. *de mor. German. cap.* 9.

(60) PLUTARCH. *Sympoſiac. lib.* 4. quem prolixiùs diſſerentem otioſus conſulas, lector.

(61) Quia ſacerdotes eorum tibiâ tympaniſque concinebant, hederâ vinciebantur, vitiſque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati ſunt, nequaquam congruentibus inſtitutis: quippe Liber feſtos laetoſque ritus poſuit, Judaeorum mos abſurdus ſordiduſque. *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 5.

(62) Ἡρακλης δε εϛιν ὁ εν τοις ὁλοις λογος, καθ' ὁν ἡ Φυσις ισχυρα και κραταια εϛιν, ανικητος και απεριγεννητος ουσα: μεταδοτικος ισχυος, και της παρα μερος αλκης ὑπαρχων. *Ubi ſupra.*

all things, according to which Nature is vigorous and ſtrong, invincible and ever-generating; being the power that communicates virtue and firmneſs to every part of things. The Scholiaſt of Apollonius affirms, that the natural Philoſophers underſtood by Hercules, *the* (63) *intelligence and permanence of beings*: as the Egyptians held him to be (64) *that Reaſon, which is in the whole of things, and in every part.* Thus the Learned allegoriz'd away among others (as I ſaid before) the fabulous atchievments and miraculous birth of this Hero, on which we ſhall however touch again, when we come to explain the Heathen humor of making all extraordinary perſons the Sons of Gods, and commonly begot on Virgins; tho this laſt is not the caſe of Hercules, who was feign'd to be the Son of Jupiter by Alcmena, another man's wife. This wou'd be reckon'd immoral among men, but Jupiter (ſaid the Prieſts) can do with his own what he pleaſes: which reaſon, if it contented the husbands, cou'd not diſpleaſe the batchelors, who might chance to be ſometimes Jupiter's ſubſtitutes. The Druidical allegory of OGMIUS, or the Gallic Hercules, which in its proper place I ſhall give you at large, is extremely beautiful: and as it concerns that

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(63) *Παρα τοις Φυσικοις ὁ Ἡρακλης συνεσις και αλκη λαμβανεται.*

(64) *Τον εν πασι, και δια παντων, λογον*; non ἥλιον, ut corruptè legi cum Galeo ſuſpicor in Macrobio, *Saturnal. lib.* 1. *cap.* 20.

Eloquence whereof you are ſo conſummate a maſter, cannot but powerfully charm you.

XIII. IN the mean time 'tis probable your Lordſhip will be deſireous to know, whether, beſides the language and traditions of the Iriſh, or the Monuments of Stone and other materials which the country affords, there yet remain any Literary records truly antient and unadulterated, whereby *the Hiſtory of the Druids*, with ſuch other points of antiquity, may be retriev'd, or at leaſt illuſtrated? This is a material queſtion, to which I return a clear and direct anſwer; that not onely there remain very many antient Manuſcripts undoubtedly genuine, beſides ſuch as are forg'd, and greater numbers (65) interpolated, ſeveral whereof are in Ireland itſelf, ſome here in England, and others in the Iriſh Monaſteries abroad: but that, notwithſtanding the long ſtate of barbarity in which that nation hath lain, and after all the rebellions and wars with which the kingdom has been harraſs'd; they have incomparably more antient materials of that kind for their hiſtory (to which even their Mythology is not unſerviceable) than either the Engliſh, or the French, or any other European nation, with whoſe Manuſcripts I have any acquaintance.

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(65) As the *Uraiceacht na neigios*, *i. e.* the Accidence of the Artiſts, or the Poets; which being the work of FORCHERN before-nam'd, was interpolated, and fitted to his own time, by CEANN FAOLADH the Son of OILIOLL, in the Year of *Chriſt* 628.

tance. Of theſe I ſhall one day give a Catalogue, marking the places where they now ly, as many as I know of them; but not meaning every Tranſcript of the ſame Manuſcript, which wou'd be endleſs, if not impoſſible. In all conditions the Iriſh have been ſtrangely ſollicitous, if not to ſome degree ſuperſtitious, about preſerving their books and parchments; even thoſe of them which are ſo old, as to be now partly or wholly unintelligible. Abundance thro over care have periſhed under ground, the concealer not having skill, or wanting ſearcloath and other proper materials for preſerving them. The moſt valuable pieces, both in verſe and proſe, were written by their Heathen anceſtors; whereof ſome indeed have been interpolated after the prevailing of Chriſtianity, which additions or alterations are nevertheleſs eaſily diſtinguiſh'd: and in theſe Books the rites and formularies of the Druids, together with their Divinity and Philoſophy; eſpecially their two grand doctrines of the Eternity and Incorruptibility of the Univerſe, and the inceſſant Revolution of all beings and forms, are very ſpecially, tho ſometimes very figuratively expreſs'd. Hence their *Allanimation* and *Tranſmigration*. Why none of the Natives have hitherto made any better uſe of theſe treaſures; or why both they, and ſuch others as have written concerning the Hiſtory of Ireland, have onely entertain'd the world with the fables of it (as no country wants a fabulous account of its original, or the ſucceſſion of its Princes)

Princes) why the modern Iriſh Hiſtorians, I ſay, give us ſuch a medly of relations, unpick'd and unchoſen, I had rather any man elſe ſhou'd tell. The matter is certainly ready, there wants but will or skill for working of it; ſeparating the Droſs from the pure Ore, and diſtinguiſhing counterfeit from ſterling coin. This in the mean time is undeniable, that Learned men in other places, perceiving the ſame diſhes to be eternally ſerv'd up at every meal, are of opinion that there is no better fare in the country; while thoſe things have been conceal'd from them by the ignorant or the lazy, that would have added no ſmall ornament even to their claſſical ſtudies. Of this I hope to convince the world by the luſtre, which, in this work, I ſhall impart to the Antiquities not only of Gaule and Britain, but likewiſe to numerous paſſages of the Greec and Latin authors. How many noble diſcoveries of the like kind might be made in all countries, where the uſe of Letters has long ſubſiſted! Such things in the mean time are as if they were not: for

Paulùm ſepultae diſtat inertiae
Celata virtus. HORAT. *lib.* 4. *Od.* 9.

The uſe of Letters has been very antient in Ireland, which at firſt were cut on the bark of trees (66), prepar'd for that purpoſe; or on ſmooth tables of birch-wood, which were call'd (67) *Poets tables*; as their characters were in general nam'd (68) *twigs* and *branch-letters*, from their ſhape. Their Alphabet was call'd *Beth-luis-nion*, from the three firſt Letters of the ſame, B, L, N, *Beth*, *Luis*, *Nion* (69): for the particular name of every Letter was, for memory-ſake, from ſome tree or other vegetable; which, in the infancy of writing on barks and boards, was very natural. They had alſo many characters ſignifying whole words, like the Egyptians and the Chineſe. When PATRIC introduc'd the Roman Letters (as I ſaid above) then, from a corruption of *Abcedarium*, they call'd their new Alphabet (70) *Aibghittir*; which, by the Monkiſh writers, has been Latiniz'd (71) *Abgetorium*. But there floriſh'd a great number of Druids, Bards, Vaids, and other authors in Ireland long before PATRIC's arrival; whoſe Learning was not only more extenſive, but alſo much more uſeful than that of their Chriſtian

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(66) *Oraium.*

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(67) *Taibhle Fileadh.*

(68) *Feadha: Craobh Ogham.*

(69) *Birch*, *Quicken*, and *Aſh.*

(70) At firſt it was very analogically pronounc'd *Ab-kedair*, ſince the Letter C then in Latin, as ſtill in Iriſh and Brittiſh, had the force of K no leſs before E and I, than before A, O, U; having never been pronounc'd like S by the antient Romans, who ſaid KIKERO, *kenſeo*, *koechus*, but not SISERO, *ſenſeo*, *ſoecus*, when the words CICERO, *cenſeo*, *coecus*, or ſuch like occurr'd: ſo that *Abkedair* did naturally liquidate into *Aibghittir*, in the manner that all Grammarians know.

(71) Scripſit Abgetoria [ſcilicet Patricius] 355, et eo amplius numero. NENN. *Hiſt. Britan. cap.* 59.

Poſterity: this laſt ſort being almoſt wholly imploy'd in Scholaſtic Divinity, Metaphyſical or Chronological Diſputes, Legends, Miracles, and Martyrologies, eſpecially after the eighth century. Of all the things committed to writing by the Heathen Iriſh, none were more celebrated, or indeed in themſelves more valuable, than their Laws; which were deliver'd, as antiently among ſome other nations, in ſhort ſentences, commonly in verſe, no leſs reputed infallible Oracles than the Lacedemonian *Rethræ* (72): and, what's remarkable, they are expreſly term'd (73) *Celeſtial Judgements*, for the pronouncing of which, the moſt famous were Forchern, Neid, Conla, Eogan, Modan, Moran, King Cormac, his Chief Juſtice Fithil, Fachma, Maine, Ethnea the daughter of Amalgad, and many more. Theſe *Celeſtial Judgements* were only preſerv'd in traditionary Poems, according to the inſtitution of the Druids, till committed to writing at the command of (74) Concovar King of Ulſter; who dy'd in the year of Christ 48, whereas Patric begun his Apoſtleſhip but in the year 432. The Poets that wrote were numberleſs, of whoſe works ſeveral pieces remain ſtill intire, with diverſe Fragments of others. The three greateſt incouragers of Learning among the Heathen Iriſh Monarchs were, firſt, King (75) ACHAIUS (ſurnamed *The Doctor of Ireland*) who is ſaid to have built at Tarah an Academy, call'd *The Court of the Learned* (76). 'Twas he that ordain'd, for every principal family, hereditary Antiquaries; or, in caſe of incapacity, the moſt able of the ſame hiſtorical houſe, with rank and privileges immediately after the Druids. The next promoter of Letters was King (77) TUATHALIUS, whoſe ſurname is render'd BONAVENTURA (tho not ſo properly) and who appointed a triennial reviſion of all the Antiquaries Books, by a Committee of three Kings or great Lords, three Druids, and three Antiquaries. Theſe were to cauſe whatever was approv'd and found valuable in thoſe books, to be tranſcrib'd into the royal (78) *Book of Tarah*; which was to be the perpetual ſtandard of their Hiſtory, and by which the contents of all other ſuch books ſhou'd be receiv'd or rejected. Such good regulations I ſay there were made, but not how long or how well obſerv'd: or, if truth is to be preferr'd to all other reſpects, we muſt own they were but very ſlightly regarded; and that the Bards, beſides their Poetical licenſe, were both mercenary and partial to a ſcandalous degree. The ordinance however is admirable, and deſerves more to be imitated, than we can ever expect it to be ſo any where. The third moſt munificent patron of Literature was King Cormac, ſurnamed (79) *Long-beard,* who renew'd the Laws about the Antiquaries, rebuilt and inlarg'd the Academy at Tarah for hiſtory, law, and military prowefs: beſides that he was an indefatigable diſtributer of Juſtice, having written himſelf abundance of Laws ſtill extant. So is his (80) *Inſtitution of a Prince* (81), or his *Precepts* to his Son and Succeſſor Carbre (82) Liffecair, who in like manner was not ſuperficially addicted to the Muſes. Cormac was a great proficient in Philoſophy, made light of the Superſtitions of the Druids in his youth; and, in his old age having quitted the Scepter, he led a contemplative life: rejecting all the Druidical fables and idolatry, and acknowledging only one Supreme Being, or firſt Cauſe. This ſhort account of the primevous Iriſh Learning, whereof you'll ſee many proofs and particulars in the more than once mention'd *Diſſertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies* (to be annext to our *Critical Hiſtory*) will, I am confident, excite your curioſity.

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(72) Ρητραι.

(73) *Breatha nimhe.*

(74) Conchobhar Nessan, *i. e.* *Mac* Neassa.

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(75) EOCHAIDH OLLAMHFODLA.
(76) *Mur-Ollamhan.*
(77) TUATHAL TEACHTMHAR.
(78) *Leabhar Teamhra.*

XIV. THE cuſtom therefore, or rather cunning of the Druids, in not committing their rites or doctrines to writing, has not depriv'd us (as ſome may be apt to imagine) of ſufficient materials to compile their *Hiſtory*. For, in the firſt place, when the Romans became maſters of Gaule, and every where mixt with the natives; they cou'd not avoid, in that time of light and Learning, but arrive at the certain knowledge of whatever facts they have been pleas'd to hand down to us, tho not always rightly taking the uſages of other nations: as it muſt needs be from a full conviction of the Druidical fraudulent Superſtitions, and barbarous Tyranny exercis'd over the credulous people, that theſe ſame Romans, who tolerated all Religions, yet ſuppreſt this Inſtitution in Gaule and Britain, with the utmoſt ſeverity. The Druids however were not immediately extinguiſh'd, but only their barbarous, tyrannical, or illuſory uſages. And indeed their human Sacrifices, with their pretended Magic, and an authority incompatible with the power of the Magiſtrate, were things not to be indur'd by ſo wiſe a State as that of the Romans. In the ſecond place, the Greec colony of Marſeilles, a principal mart of Learning, cou'd not want perſons curious enough, to acquaint themſelves with the Religion, Philoſophy, and Cuſtoms of the country, wherein they liv'd. STRABO and others give us an account of ſuch. From theſe the elder Greecs had their information (not to ſpeak now of the Gauls ſeated in Greece it ſelf and in leſſer Aſia) as the later Greecs had theirs from the Romans; and, by good fortune, we have a vaſt number of paſſages from both. But, in the third place, among the Gauls themſelves and the Britons, among the Iriſh and Albanian Scots, their Hiſtorians and Bards did always regiſter abundance of particulars about the Druids, whoſe affairs were in moſt things inſeparable from thoſe of the reſt of the inhabitants: as they were not only the judges in all matters civil or religious, but in a manner the executioners too in criminal cauſes; and that their Sacrifices were very public, which conſequently made their rites no leſs obſervable. One thing which much contributed to make them known, is, that the King was ever to have a Druid about his perſon; to pray and ſacrifice, as well as to be a judge for determining emergent controverſies, tho he had a civil judge beſides. So he had one of the chief Lords to adviſe him, a Bard to ſing the praiſes of his anceſtors, a Chronicler to regiſter his own actions, a Phyſician to take care of his health, and a Muſician to intertain him. Whoever was abſent, theſe by Law muſt be ever preſent, and no fewer than the three Controllers of his family; which Decemvirate was the inſtitution of King CORMAC. The ſame cuſtom was taken up by all the Nobles, whereof each had about him his Druid, Chief Vaſſal, Bard, Judge, Phyſician, and Harper; the four laſt having lands aſſign'd them, which deſcended to their families, wherein theſe Profeſſions were hereditary, as were their Marſhal, and the reſt of their officers. After the introducing of Chriſtianity, the Druid was ſucceeded by a Biſhop or Prieſt, but the reſt continu'd on the antient foot: inſomuch, that for a long time after the Engliſh Conqueſt, the Judges, the Bards, Phyſicians, and Harpers, held ſuch tenures in Ireland. The O DUVEGANS were the hereditary Bards of the O KELLIES, the O CLERYS and the O BRODINS were alſo hereditary Antiquaries: the O SHEILS and the O CANVANS were ſuch hereditary Doctors, the MAGLANCHYS ſuch hereditary Judges, and ſo of the reſt; for more examples, eſpecially in this place, are needleſs: it wou'd be but multiplying of names, without ever making the Subject clearer. Only I muſt remark here, from the very nature of things, no leſs than from facts, that (tho CESAR be ſilent about it) there were civil judges in Gaule juſt as in Ireland, yet under the direction and controll of the Druids. This has led many to imagine, that, becauſe the Druids influenc'd all, there were therefore no other judges, which is doubtleſs an egregious miſtake.

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(79) Ulfhada.

(80) 'Tis, among other moſt valuable pieces, in the Collection call'd O Duvegan's, folio 190. a, now or late in the poſſeſſion of the right honorable the Earl of Clanrickard. There are copies of it elſewhere, but that's the oldeſt known.

(81) *Teagarg Riogh.*

(82) Cairbre Lifiochair.

XV. FURTHER, tho the Druids were exemted from bearing arms, yet they finally determin'd concerning Peace and War: and thoſe of that order, who attended the King and the Nobles, were obſerv'd to be the greateſt make-bates and incendiaries; the moſt averſe to Peace in Council, and the moſt cruel of all others in Action. Some of 'em were ally'd to Kings, many of 'em were King's ſons, and great numbers of them cull'd out of the beſt families: which you ſee is an old trick, but has not been always effectual enough to perpetuate an Order of men. This however made Hiſtorians not to forget them, and indeed ſeveral of 'em render'd themſelves very remarkable; as the Druid TROSDAN, who found an Antidote againſt the poyſon'd arrows of certain Brittiſh invaders: (83) CABADIUS, grandfather to the moſt celebrated champion (84) CUCULAND; (85) TAGES the father of MORNA, mother to the no leſs famous (86) FIN MAC CUIL: DADER, who was kill'd by EOGAN, ſon to OLILL OLOM King of Munſter; which EOGAN was marry'd to MOINIC, the daughter of the Druid DILL. The Druid MOGRUTH, the ſon of SINDUINN, was the ſtouteſt man in the wars of King CORMAC: nor leſs valiant was (87) DUBCOMAR, the chief Druid of King FIACHA; and LUGADIUS MAC-CON the abdicated King of Ireland, was treacherouſly run thro the body with a lance by the Druid (88) FIRCHISUS. IDA and ONO (Lords of Corcachlann near Roſcommon) were Druids; wherof ONO preſented his fortreſs of *Imleach-Ono* to PATRIC, who converted it into the religious houſe of *Elphin*, ſince an (89) Epiſcopal See. From the very name of (90) LAMDERG, or *Bloody-hand*, we learn what ſort of man the Druid was, who by the vulgar is thought to live inchanted in the mountain between Bunncranach and (91) Fathen in the county of Dunegall. Nor muſt we forget, tho out of order of time, King (92) NIALL *of the nine hoſtage's* Arch-Druid, by name (93) LAGICINUS BARCHEDIUS; who procured a moſt cruel war againſt EOCHA King of Munſter, for committing Manſlaughter on his ſon: and which the Druids making a common cauſe, there was no honor, law, or humanity obſerv'd towards this King; whoſe ſtory, at length in our book, will ſtand as a laſting monument of Druidical bloodyneſs, and a Prieſt-ridden State. I conclude with BACRACH (chief Druid to CONCHOBHAR NESSAN King of Ulſter) who is fabl'd by the monks long after the extinction of the Druids, to have before it happen'd, others ſay at the very time, deſcrib'd the paſſion of JESUS CHRIST, in ſo lively and moveing a manner; that the King tranſported with rage drew his ſword, and with inexpreſſible fury fell a hacking and hewing the trees of the wood where he then was, which he miſtook for the Jews: nay, that he put himſelf into ſuch a heat as to dy of this frenzy. But even O FLAHERTY fully confutes this ſilly fiction, (94) not thinking it poſſible that ſuch circumſtances cou'd be any way inferr'd from an Eclipſe (which is the foundation of the ſtory) nor that a clearer revelation ſhou'd be made of thoſe things to the Iriſh Druids, than to the Jewiſh Prophets; and, finally, by ſhewing, that Conchobhar dy'd quietly in his bed 15 years after the crucifixion of CHRIST. BACRACH however was a great man, and the King himſelf had a Druid for his ſtep-father and inſtructor.

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(83) **CATHBAID.**
(84) **CUCHULAID.**
(85) **TADHG.**
(86) **FINN MHAC CUBHAILL.**
(87) **DUBHCHOMAR.**
(88) **FEARCHIOS.**

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(89) *Ailfinn*, from a vaſt Obeliſc that ſtood by a well in that place; and that fell down in the year 1675. The word ſignifies the *white Stone*, and was corrupted into *Oil-finn*. Some wou'd derive the name from the clearneſs of the fountain, but 'tis by torture: others from one OIL-FINN, a Daniſh commander.

(90) LAMBHDEARG.

(91) *Taobhſaoil-treach.*

(92) NIALL NAOIGHI-ALLACH.

(93) LAIGHICHIN MHAC BARRECHEADHA.

XVI. IT can be no wonder therefore, that men thus ſacred in their function, illuſtrious in their alliances, eminent for their learning, and honour'd for their valor, as well as dreaded for their power and influence, ſhould alſo be memorable both in the poetry and proſe of their country. And ſo in fact they are, notwithſtanding what DUDLEY FORBES, before mention'd, did, in a Letter to an Iriſh writer, (95) in the year 1683, affirm: namely, that, in PATRIC's time no fewer than 180 Volumes, relating to the affairs of the Druids, were burnt in Ireland. Dr. KENNEDY ſays, (96) that PATRIC burnt 300 *volumns*,

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(94) *Ogyg.*
(95) O FLAHERTY.
(96) *Diſſertation about the Family of the* STUARTS, Pref. page 29.

ſtuft with the fables and ſuperſtitions of Heathen Idolatry: unfit, adds he, *to be tranſmitted to poſterity*. But, pray, how ſo? why are Gallic or Iriſh ſuperſtitions more unfit to be tranſmitted to poſterity, than thoſe of the Greecs and Romans? Why ſhou'd PATRIC be more ſqueamiſh in this reſpect than MOSES or the ſucceding Jewiſh Prophets, who have tranſmitted to all ages the Idolatries of the Egyptians, Phenicians, Caldeans, and other eaſtern nations? What an irreparable deſtruction of Hiſtory, what a deplorable extinction of arts and inventions, what an unſpeakable detriment to Learning, what a diſhonor upon human underſtanding, has the cowardly proceeding of the ignorant, or rather of the intereſted, againſt unarm'd monuments at all times occaſion'd! And yet this Book-burning and Letter-murdring humor, tho far from being commanded by CHRIST, has prevail'd in Chriſtianity from the beginning: as in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* we read, (97) that *many of them which believ'd— and us'd curious arts, brought their books together, and burnt them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thouſand pieces of ſilver*, or about three hundred pounds ſterling. This was the firſt inſtance of burning Books among Chriſtians; and ever ſince that time the example has been better follow'd, then any precept of the *Goſpel*.

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(97) Acts 19. 19.

XVII. FROM what we have hitherto obſerv'd, you ſee that our Hiſtorians, My Lord, do (in ſpite of all chances) abound with matter enough to revive and illuſtrate the memory of the Druids. Beſides that the rites and opinions of other nations ſerve not only to give light to theirs, but were many of them of Druidical or Celtic extraction. This no body will deny of the Aboriginal Italians, who having been often over-run by the Gauls, and having ſeveral Gallic Colonies planted among them, they partook both of their Language and Religion; as will be very eaſily evinc'd in our *Diſſertation*, and has been already tolerably done by Father Pezron in his *Celtic Originals*. Diogenes Laertius, in the Proem of his *Philoſophical Hiſtory*, reckons the Druids among the chief Authors of the Barbarous Theology and Philoſophy, long anterior to the Greecs, their diſciples: and Phurnutus, in his treatiſe *of the nature of the Gods*, ſays moſt (98) expreſly, that *among the many and various fables which the antient Greecs had about the Gods, ſome were derived from the Mages, ſome from the Egyptians and Gauls, others from the Africans and Phrygians, and others from other nations:*

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(98) Τȣ δε πολλας και ποικιλας περι θεων γεγονεναι παρα τοις παλαιοις Ἑλλησι μυθοποΐας, ὡς αλλαι μεν επι Μαγοις γεγονασιν, αλλαι δε παρ᾽ Αιγυπτιοις και Κελτοις, και Λιβυσι, και Φρυξι, και τοις αλλοις εθνεσι. *Cap.* 17. Thus the Manuſcript very accurately: but the printed Copy has τοις αλλοις Ἑλλησι ſuperfluouſly in the end, and wants Φρυξι before, which is very eſſential.

for which he cites HOMER as a witneſs, nor is there any thing that bears a greater witneſs to it ſelf. This however is not all: for, over and above the ſeveral helps I have mention'd, there are likewiſe numerous monuments of the worſhip of the Druids, their valor, policy, and manner of habitation, ſtill remaining in France, in Britain, in Ireland, and in the adjacent Iſlands; many of 'em intire, and the reſt by the help of theſe eaſily conceiv'd. Moſt are of ſtone, as the leſſer ones are of glaſs, and others of earth bak'd extremely hard. The two laſt kinds were ornaments or magical gems, as were alſo thoſe of Chryſtal and Agat, either perfectly Spherical, or in the figure of a Lentill; or ſhap'd after any of the other ways, which ſhall be deſcrib'd and portray'd in our Book. The Glaſs Amulets or ornaments are in the Lowlands of Scotland, call'd *Adderſtanes*, and by the Welſh *Gleini na Droedh*, or Druid-Glaſs, which is in Iriſh *Glaine nan Druidhe*, *Glaine* in this language ſignifying *Glaſs*, tho obſolete now in the Welſh dialect, and preſerv'd only in this *Gleini na Droedh*. But the more maſſy Monuments ſhall, in a day or two, be the Subject of another Letter from,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt
oblig'd and very
June 25. 1718. humble Servant.

THE
SECOND LETTER:
TO
The Right Honourable
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I. PERMIT me at this time, (My Lord) according to the promiſe with which I concluded my laſt, to ſend to your Lordſhip *A Specimen of the Monuments relating to the Druids*, that are ſtill extant, either intire or imperfect. I have ever indeavor'd to avoid deſerving the blame, with which an approv'd author charges thoſe; who, while very converſant in the hiſtory of other places, appear to be abſolute ſtrangers in their own country: and as I know no man better verſed in foren affairs or in our own (which an able Stateſman will never ſeparate) nor a greater maſter of antient or modern hiſtory than yourſelf; ſo I am apt to hope, that the collection of Brittiſh and Iriſh Antiquities I here take the liberty to preſent to your Lordſhip, may not prove altogether diſagreeable. The French examples (a few excepted) I reſerve for the larger work, and in the mean time I procede. On the tops of mountains and other eminences in Ireland, in Wales, in Scotland, in the Scottiſh Ilands and the Ile of Man, (where things have been leaſt diſorder'd or diſplac'd by the frequency of inhabitants, or want of better ground for cultivation) there are great heaps of ſtones, like the (1) MERCURIAL *heaps* (2) of the Greecs, whereof when we treat of the Celtic MERCURY in particular. The heaps, which make my preſent ſubject, conſiſt of ſtones of all ſorts, from one pound to a hundred. They are round in form, and ſomewhat tapering or diminiſhing upwards: but on the ſummit was always a flat ſtone, for a uſe we ſhall preſently explain. Theſe heaps are of all bigneſſes, ſome of 'em containing at leaſt a hundred cartload of ſtones: and if any of 'em be grown over with earth, 'tis purely accidental in the long courſe of time wherin they have been neglected; for no ſuch thing was intended in the firſt making of them, as in the ſepulchral barrows of the Gothic nations, which are generally of earth. Such a heap is in the antient Celtic language, and in every dialect of it, call'd CARN; and every Carn ſo diſpos'd, as to be in ſight of ſome other. Yet they are very different from the rude and much ſmaller pyramyds, which the old Iriſh erect along the roads in memory of the dead, by them call'd *Leachda*, and made of the firſt ſtones that offer. From the devotional rounds perform'd about the Carns in times of Heatheniſm, and which, as we ſhall ſee anon, are yet continu'd in many places of the Scottiſh Highlands and the Hebrides, any circle, or turning about, is in Armoric call'd *cern* (1), as *cerna* in that dialect is to make ſuch a turn. On the Carn call'd *Crig-y-dyrn*, in the pariſh of Tre'lech in Caermarthenſhire, the flat ſtone on the top is three yards in length, five foot over, and from ten to twelve inches thick. The circumference of this Carn at the bottom is about ſixty yards, and 'tis about ſix yards high; the aſcent being very eaſy, tho I ſuppoſe there was originally a ladder for this purpoſe.

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(1) Προσσωρευουσι δε τους λιθους τοις Ἑρμαις ἑκαστος των παριόντων ἑνα τινα αυτοις προστεθεις, &c. PHURNUT. *de Nat. Deor. cap.* 16.

(2) Ἑρμαια, *i. e.* Acervi Mercuriales.

II. LET this Carn ſerve for an example of the reſt, as to their form and bulk; only we may take notice here by the way, what odd

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(3) C is pronounc'd as K

imaginations men are apt to have of things they do not underſtand. Thus Mr. WILLIAM SACHEVERELL, Governor of the Ile of Man under the right honorable the Earl of DERBY in part of King WILLIAM's reign, miſtaking theſe Carns in his (4) deſcription of that Iland, *The tops of the mountains* (ſays he) *ſeem nothing but the rubbiſh of nature, thrown into barren and unfruitful heaps, as near two thirds of the Iland are of this ſort. Some ſeem particularly worthy our remark, as the two* Barowls, Skeyall, *the watch-hill of* Knock-a-low : *but particularly* Sneafeld, *where it is not unpleaſant* (continues he) *when the weather is clear and ſerene, to ſee three noble nations ſurrounding one of the moſt obſcure in the Univerſe : which is, as it were, the center of the Brittiſh Empire.* Theſe heaps our Author thought the work of chance, tho artfully contriv'd in all the Celtic countries; as Dr. MARTIN thought a Carn in the Ile of Saint KILDA, wherof preſently, to be a ſignal effect of Providence : But as for the Mannian nation (which is viſibly the center of the Brittiſh world) it is very undeſervedly become obſcure, whether we conſider what has been tranſacted in former ages, it having been the theater of many ſurprizing revolutions : or the particular uſages in religious and civil affairs, that even now obtain there, eſpecially their Laws, which ſtill continue moſtly unwritten (for which reaſon they call 'em *Breaſt-laws*) being without expenſe or delay, and undoubted remains of the Juſtice of the Druids. For, wherever they were not themſelves a party, neither the Egyptians, nor Perſians, nor Greecs, nor Romans, did ſurpaſs the wiſdom, equity, and ſtrictneſs of the Druids in the ſanction or execution of their Laws; which made all ſorts of men leave their controverſies of every kind to their determination, without any further appeal. Nor without ſome regard in fact, and a vaſt deal more in profeſſion, to moral virtue, cou'd any Set of Impoſtors in any country poſſibly ſupport their falſe doctrines and ſuperſtitious obſervances; which receive credit from hence, as the teachers of 'em do all their power and authority, in proportion to the auſterities they practiſe, or the appearances they have of devotion. I ſay appearances, becauſe this in moſt, join'd to real ſelf-denial in a few (who by the reſt are deem'd ſilly tho uſeful creatures) will long uphold an inſtitution both erroneous and tyrannical: which is the reaſon that, to this hour, the memory of the Druids is highly venerable among thoſe of the Ile of Man; and that their Laws are infinitely preferr'd to all others by the Mankſmen, who ſay the family of DERBY comes neareſt their excellence of any race of men now in the world. Wherefore, as well in theſe regards, as in many others eſſential to my deſign, I ſhall, in the Body of the *Hiſtory*, give a true idea of the paſt and preſent cuſtoms of this antient, tho mixt people. Their numerous Carns, of whoſe origin anon, are not the onely monuments they have of the Druids. But that the chief College of theſe Philoſophers was ever eſtabliſh'd there, and much leſs any ſuch College appointed by the Kings of Scotland (as HECTOR BOETHIUS feign'd) I ſhall demonſtrate to be pure romance: and at the ſame time will not fail doing juſtice to the memory of the great Hero and Legiſlator of the Iland, MANANNAN; reported, after the manner of thoſe ages, to have been the Son of (5) LEAR, or the God of the Sea, from his extraordinary Skill in navigation and commerce. He was truely the Son of (6) ALLADIUS, who was of royal blood, and his own name ORBSEN; but call'd MANANNAN from his country, and kill'd by one ULLIN near Galway, in Ireland: of all which the particulars will be given in their proper Place, eſpecially *the Republic of* MANANNAN; who, from his inſtruction by the Druids, was reputed a conſummate Magician, and was indeed moſt happy in ſtratagems of war both by land and ſea. Mr. SACHEVERELL, except in affirming MANANNAN (whom he miſnames MANNAN) to have been (7) *the father, founder, and legiſlator of the Iland,* is out in every thing he ſays concerning him: for, inſtead of living about the beginning of the fifth century, he liv'd as many centuries before CHRIST; and ſo cou'd not be contemporary with PATRIC, the Apoſtle of Man as well as Ireland. Neither was MANANNAN the ſon of a King of Ulſter, nor yet the brother of FERGUS II. (8) King of Scotland: and as for his not being able to get any information what became of him, I have already told that he was kill'd in Ireland, and by whom.

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(4) Page 13.

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(5) MANANNAN MHAC LEIR.
(6) ALLAID.
(7) Page 20.

III. IN proceſs of time the Carns, to which we now return, ſerv'd every where for beacons, as many of them as ſtood conveniently for this purpoſe: but they were originally deſign'd, as we are now going to ſee, for fires of another nature. The fact ſtood thus. On May-eve the Druids made prodigious fires on thoſe Carns, which being every one (as we ſaid) in ſight of ſome other, cou'd not but afford a glorious ſhow over a whole nation. Theſe fires were in honour of BEAL or BEALAN, latiniz'd by the Roman authors into (9) BELENUS, by which name the Gauls and their colonies underſtood the Sun: and therefore to this hour the firſt day of May is by the Aboriginal Iriſh call'd *La* BEALTEINE, or *the day of* BELEN's *fire* (10). I remember one of thoſe Carns on Fawn-hill within ſome miles of Londonderry, known by no other name but that of Bealteine, facing another ſuch Carn on the top of Inch-hill: and Gregory *of Tours*, in his book *de Gloria Confeſſorum*, mentions a (11) hill of the ſame name (12) between Artom and Riom in Auvergne in France, from which Riom might be fairly view'd. But tho later writers affirm with Valesius, in his *Galliarum notitia*, this hill to be now unknown; yet Belen's heap on the top of it, is a ſure mark whereby to diſcover it. His circular Temple, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, is ſtill there (if not the Carn) having certainly exiſted in Gregory's time. Abundance of ſuch heaps remain ſtill on the Mountains in France, and on the Alps. Thoſe writers however are not to be blam'd, as being ſtrangers to the origin or uſe of ſuch heaps; and not able to diſtinguiſh them from certain other heaps, under which robbers and traitors were bury'd. Theſe laſt are call'd in general by the Welſh *Carn-Vradúyr* and *Carn-Lhadron* (13); or particularly after the proper names of the underlying criminals, as *Carnedh*-Leúelyn, *Carnedh*-David, and ſuch like. As far from Auvergne as the Iland of Saint Kilda, in the 58th degree of northern latitude, there is another hill denominated from Belenus (which more conſonant to the Celtic idiom HERODIAN (14) writes BELIN) corruptly call'd *Otter*-VEAUL (15), or BELEN'S *heigth*; on which is a vaſt heap, whereof Doctor MARTIN, in his account of that Iland, did not know the uſe, as I ſaid before (16): but the Carn being on the hill juſt above the landing place, he thinks it ſo order'd by providence; that by rouling down theſe ſtones, the inhabitants might prevent any body's coming aſhore againſt their will. In the Church of Birſa (near which ſtands a very remarkable Obeliſc) at the weſt end of the Iland call'd *Pomona*, or the mainland, in Orkney, there is an erect ſtone, with the word BELUS inſcrib'd on it in antient characters. Yet whether this be any remembrance of BELENUS (better according to the Iriſh idiom BELUS) or be the Monument of a native Prince ſo call'd, I ſhall not here decide. The fact it ſelf is told us by Mr. BRAND (17), in his *Deſcription of Orkney and Zetland*. I wiſh he had alſo told us, of what kind thoſe antient characters are, or that he had exactly copy'd them: and if there be a man's portraiture on the ſtone, as Dr. MARTIN affirms (18), the dreſs and poſture will go a great way towards clearing the matter.

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(8) Ibid.

(9) Herodian. Auſon. Capitolin. Tertul. &c. Videantur etiam Gruter. et Reineſ. in *Inſcriptionibus*.

(10) Etiam *Bealltaine*, & antiquitùs *Beltine*.

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(11) Cùm [*ex Artonenſi vico*] veniſſet in cacumen montis Belenatenſis, de quo vici Ricomagenſis poſitio contemplatur, vidit hos &c. *De Gloria Confeſſor. cap.* 5.

(12) *Mons Belenatenſis.*

(13) *Traitor and thiefs Carn:* in Iriſh *Carn-bhrateoir & Carn an Ladroin.*

IV. BUT to make no longer digreſſion, May-day is likewiſe call'd *La* BEALTEINE by the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemtible part of the Celtic off-ſpring. So it is in the Ile of Man: and in Armoric a Prieſt is ſtill call'd *Belec*, or the ſervant of Bel, and Prieſthood *Belegieth*. Two ſuch fires, as we have mention'd, were kindl'd by one another on May-eve in every village of the nation (as well throout all Gaule, as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjoining leſſer Ilands) between which fires the men and the beaſts to be ſacrific'd were to paſs; from whence came the proverb, *between* Bel's (19) *two fires*, meaning one in a great ſtrait, not knowing how to extricate himſelf. One of the fires was on the Carn, another on the ground. On the eve of the firſt day of November (20), there were alſo ſuch fires kindl'd, accompany'd (as they conſtantly were) with ſacrifices and feaſting. Theſe November fires were in Ireland call'd *Tine tlach'd-gha*, from *tlach'd-gha* (21), a place hence ſo call'd in Meath, where the Archdruid of the realm had his fire on the ſaid eve; and for which piece of ground, becauſe originally belonging to Munſter, but appointed by the ſupreme Monarch for this uſe, there was an annual acknowledgement (call'd *ſgreaboll*) paid to the King of that province. But that all the Druids of Ireland aſſembl'd there on the firſt of November, as ſeveral authors injudiciouſly write; is not only a thing improbable,

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(14) Lib. 8. Cap. 7.
(15) *Uachdar* BHEIL.
(16) Page 64.
(17) Page 14.
(18) Page 358.

(19) *Ittir dha theine* Bheil.
(20) *Samhbhuin.*
(21) *Fire-ground.*

but alſo falſe in fact: nor were they otherwiſe there at that time, nor all at any time together in one place, but as now all the Clergy of England are ſaid to be preſent in their Convocations; that is, by their repreſentatives and delegates. Thus CESAR is likewiſe to be underſtood, when, after ſpeaking of the ARCHDRUID of Gaule, he ſays that (22) *the Druids at a certain time of the Year aſſembl'd in a conſecrated grove in the country of the Carnutes* (23), *which is reckon'd the middle region of all Gaule.* But of theſe aſſemblies in their place. On the foreſaid eve all the people of the country, out of a religious perſuaſion inſtill'd into them by the Druids, extinguiſh'd their fires as intirely; as the Jews are wont to ſweep their houſes, the night before *the feaſt of unleavened bread.* Then every maſter of a family was religiouſly oblig'd, to take a portion of the conſecrated fire home, and to kindle the fire a-new in his houſe, which for the enſuing year was to be lucky and proſperous. He was to pay however for his future happineſs, whether the event prov'd anſwerable or not: and tho his houſe ſhou'd be afterwards burnt, yet he muſt deem it the puniſhment of ſome new ſin, or aſcribe it to any thing, rather than to want of virtue in the conſecration of the fire, or of validity in the benediction of the Druid; who, from officiating at the Carns, was likewiſe call'd (24) *Cairneach*, a name that continu'd to ſignify a Prieſt, even in the Chriſtian times. But if any man had not clear'd with the Druids for the laſt year's dues, he was neither to have a ſpark of this holy fire from the Carns, nor durſt any of his Neighbors let him take the benefit of theirs, under pain of Excommunication; which, as manag'd by the Druids, was worſe than death. If he wou'd brew therefore or bake, or roaſt or boil, or warm himſelf and family, in a word, if he wou'd live the winter out, the Druids dues muſt be paid by the laſt of October: ſo that this trick alone was more effectual, than are all the *Acts of Parliament* made for recovering our preſent Clergy's dues; which *Acts* are ſo many and ſo frequent, that the bare enumeration of them wou'd make an indifferent volum. Wherefore I cannot but admire the addreſs of the Druids, in fixing this ceremony of rekindling family-fires to the beginning of November, rather than to May or Midſummer, when there was an equal opportunity for it.

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(22) Ii [*Druides*] certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, conſidunt in luco conſecrato. *De bello Gallico, lib. 6, cap.* 13.

(23) Now *le Païs Chartrain*, the place *Dreux*.

V. A WORLD of places (25) are denominated from thoſe Carns of all ſorts, as in Wales *Carn-Lhechart*, *Carn-Lhaid*; in Scotland

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(24) This is the true origin of the word *Cairneach*, as ſignifying a Prieſt: but not deriv'd, as men ignorant of antiquity fancy, from *Coroineach*, alluding to the crown-form'd tonſure of the Monks, not near ſo old as this word.

(25) The places are numberleſs in all theſe countries.

Carn-wath, *Carn-tullock*, *Drum-cairn*, *Glen-cairn*; in Ireland *Carn-mail*, *Carn-aret*, *Carnan-tagher*, *Carnan-tober* (26); and in Northumberland, as in other parts of the North of England, they are ſometimes call'd *Laws* or *Lows*, a name they alſo give the Gothic Barrows. The Lowland Scots call 'em in the plural number *Cairns*, whence ſeveral Lordſhips are nam'd, as one in Lennox, another in Galloway (to mention no more) from which the ſurname of CAIRNS. The family of CARNE, in Wales, is from the like original: but not, as ſome have thought, the O KEARNYS (27) of Ireland; one of which, Mr. JOHN KEARNY, Treaſurer of Saint PATRIC's in Dublin, was very inſtrumental in getting the *New Teſtament* tranſlated into Iriſh, about the end of the laſt century but one. As to this Fire-worſhip, which (by the way) prevail'd over all the world, the Celtic nations kindl'd other fires on midſummer eve, which are ſtill continu'd by the Roman Catholics of Ireland; making them in all their grounds, and carrying flaming brands about their Corn-fields. This they do likewiſe all over France, and in ſome of the Scottiſh Iles. Theſe Midſummer fires and ſacrifices, were to obtain a bleſſing on the fruits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as thoſe of the firſt of May, that they might proſperouſly grow: and thoſe of the laſt of October, were a thankſgiving for finiſhing their Harveſt. But in all of 'em regard was alſo had to the ſeveral degrees of increaſe and decreaſe in the heat of the Sun; as in treating of their Aſtronomy, and Manner of reckoning time, we ſhall clearly ſhow. Their other feſtivals, with their peculiar obſervations, ſhall be likewiſe explain'd each in their proper Sections; eſpecially that of New-year's day, or the tenth of March (their fourth grand feſtival) which was none of the leaſt ſolemn: and which was the day of ſeeking, cutting, and conſecrating their wonder-working, *All-heal*, or Miſſelto of Oak. This is the ceremony to which Virgil alludes by his *golden-branch*, in the ſixth book of the *Aeneid*, for which there is inconteſtable proof, which we ſhall give in a ſection on this ſubject. 'Tis Pliny who ſays, that the Druids call'd it, in their language, by a word ſignifying (28) *All-heal*; which word in the Armorican dialect is *oll-yach*, in the Welſh *ol-hiach*, and in the Iriſh *Uil-iceach*. Here by the way, we may obſerve, that as the Greecs had many words from the Barbarians, for which Plato in his (29) *Cratylus*, judges it would be loſt labor to ſeek etymologies in their own language: ſo it is remarkable, that certain feaſts of Apollo were call'd (30) *Carnea*, from the killing of no body knows what Prophet CARNUS. Some ſaid that he was the ſon of JUPITER and EUROPA, kill'd for a Magician by one ALES; and others yet, that CARNI was a common name for an order of Prophets in Acarnania. APOLLO himſelf was ſurnamed CARNUS (31); and, from him, May was call'd the *Carnean Month*. Nay there were *Carnean Prieſts*, and a particular kind of Muſic, which we may interpret the *Cairn-tunes*, was appropriated to thoſe feſtivals in May, perfectly anſwering thoſe of the Celtic tribes. It is therefore highly probable, that the Greecs did learn theſe things from the Gauls their conquerors, and in many places ſeated among them; or from ſome of their travellors in Gaule it ſelf, if not from the Phocean colony at Marſeilles. We know further, that the making of hymns was a ſpecial part of the Bards office; who by STRABO, are expreſly term'd *Hymn-makers* (32): and I ſhow'd before, that the antient Greecs (by their own confeſſion) learnt part of their Philoſophy, and many of their ſacred fables, from the Gauls. So that this criticiſm is not ſo void of probability, as many which paſs current enough in the world. However, I fairly profeſs to give it onely for a conjecture; which I think preferable to the farr-fetcht and diſcordant accounts of the Greecs: who, in ſpight of PLATO and good ſenſe, wou'd needs be fiſhing for the origin of every thing in their own language. In the mean time it is not unworthy our remark, that as (33) Prizes were adjudg'd to the Victors in this *Carnéan* Muſic among the Greecs: ſo the diſtributing of Prizes to the moſt ſucceſsful Poets, was no leſs uſual among the Gauls and their colonies; whereof there is undeniable proof in the Brittiſh and Iriſh Hiſtories, as will be ſeen in our Section concerning the *Bards*.

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(26) *Carnan* is the diminutive of *Carn.*

(27) *O Cearnaigh*, beſides *O Ceatharnaigh.*

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(28) Omnia-ſanantem appellantes ſuo vocabulo, &c. *Lib.* 16. *cap.* 44.

(29) Ει τις ζητοι ταυτα κατα την Ελληνικην Φωνην, ὡς εοικοτως κειται; αλλα μη κατ᾽ εκεινην, εξ ἧς το ονομα τυγχανει ον, οισθα ὁτι αποροι αν. *Inter opera, edit. Paris. vol.* 1. *pag.* 409.

(30) Τά καρνεα.

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(31) Καρνειος μην.

(32) Ὑμνηται.

VI. ANOTHER Criticiſm relating immediately to APOLLO (for which I think this a proper place) I give as ſomething more than a conjecture. In the Lordſhip of Merchiſton, near Edinburgh, was formerly dug up a ſtone with an Inſcription to APOLLO GRANNUS; concerning which Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE Baronet, in his ſecond edition of CAMBDEN'S *Deſcription of Scotland*, thus expreſſes himſelf after his (34) author. *Who this* APOLLO GRANNUS *might be, and whence he ſhould have his name, not one (to my knowledge) of our grave Senate of Antiquaries hitherto cou'd ever tell. But if I might be allow'd, from out of the loweſt bench, to ſpeak what I think; I wou'd ſay that* APOLLO GRANNUS, *among the Romans, was the ſame that* (35) APOLLON AKERSEKOMES, *that is*, APOLLO with long hair, *among the Greecs: for* ISIDORE *calls the long hair of the Goths* GRANNOS. This conſequence will by no means hold: for what are the Goths to the Romans, who expreſt this Greec by *intonſus* APOLLO? And ſince Goths ſpeaking Latin had as little to do in the ſhire of Lothian, it will not be doubted, but that it was ſome Roman who paid this vow; as ſoon as 'tis known, that, beſides the man's name QUINTUS LUSIUS SABINIANUS, *Grian*, among the many (36) Celtic names of the *Sun*, was one, being the common name of it ſtill in Iriſh: and that, from his beams, *Greannach* in the ſame language ſignifies *long-hair'd*, which is a natural epithet of the Sun in all nations. There is no need therefore of going for a Gothic derivation to ISIDORE, in whom now I read *Scots* inſtead of *Goths*; and not, as I fancy, without very good reaſon. It wou'd be ſuperfluous to produce inſtances (the thing is ſo common) to ſhow that the Romans, to their own names of the Gods, added the names or attributes under which they were invok'd in the country, where they happen'd on any occaſion to ſojourn. Nor was this manner of topical worſhip unknown to the antient Hebrews, who are forbid to follow it by Moses in theſe words: (37) *Enquire not after their Gods, ſaying, how did theſe nations ſerve their Gods? even ſo will I do likewiſe.* *Grian* therefore and *Greannach* explain the (38) Lothian Inſcription very naturally, in the antient language of the Scots themſelves (ſpoken ſtill in the Highlands and Weſtern Iles, as well as in Ireland) without any need of having recourſe to Gothland, or other foren countries.

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(33) Τιμοθεος——τα Καρνεια αγωνιζομενος. *Plutarch. in Apophthegm.*

(34) This paſſage in CAMBDEN is in the 897th page of CHURCHILL's edition, anno 1695.

(35) Απολλων ακερσεκομης : item Ακειρεκομης.

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(36) Beſides the Sun's religious attribute of BEL, BEAL, BELIN, or BELENUS, it is call'd *Hayl* in Welſh, *Houl* in Corniſh, *Heol* in Armoric; in all which the aſpirate *h* is put for *s*, as in a world of ſuch other words: for any word beginning with *s* in the antient Celtic, does in the oblique caſes begin with *h*. Yet *s* is ſtill retain'd in the Armoric *Diſul*, in the Cambrian *Dydhſŷe*, and the Cornubian *Dezil*; that is to ſay, *Sunday*. It was formerly *Diaſoil* in Iriſh, whence ſtill remain *Solus* light, *Soillſe* clearneſs, *Soillſeach* bright or ſunny, *Solleir* manifeſt, and ſeveral more ſuch. 'Tis now call'd *Dia Domhnaigh*, or *Dies Dominicus*, according to the general uſe of all Chriſtians.

VII. TO return to our Carn-fires, it was cuſtomary for the Lord of the place, or his ſon, or ſome other perſon of diſtinction, to take the entrals of the ſacrific'd animal in his hands, and walking barefoot over the coals thrice, after the flames had ceas'd, to carry them ſtrait to the Druid, who waited in a whole skin at the Altar. If the Nobleman eſcap'd harmleſs, it was reckon'd a good omen, welcom'd with loud acclamations: but if he receiv'd any hurt, it was deem'd unlucky both to the community and to himſelf. Thus I have ſeen the people running and leaping thro the St. John's fires in Ireland, and not onely proud of paſſing unſing'd: but, as if it were ſome kind of Luſtration, thinking themſelves in a ſpecial manner bleſt by this ceremony, of whoſe original nevertheleſs they were wholly ignorant in their imperfect imitation of it. Yet without being appriz'd of all this, no reader, however otherwiſe learned, can truely apprehend the beginning of the Conſul Flaminius's ſpeech to Equanus the Sabin, at the battle of Thraſimenus, thus intelligently related by (39) Silius Italicus.

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(37) Deut. 12. 80.

(38) This Inſcription, as given us by Cambden from Sir Peter Young, preceptor to King James VI. (for the Laird of Merchiſton's *Expoſition of the Apocalyps* I never ſaw) runs thus:

Apollini
Granno
Q. Lusius
Sabinia
nus
Proc * — * Procurator.
Aug * — * Auguſti.
V. S. S. L. V. M * — * Votum ſuſceptum ſolvit lubens meritò.

Then ſeeing Equanus, *near Soracte born,*
In perſon, as in arms, the comelyeſt youth;
Whoſe country manner 'tis, when th' archer keen
Divine Apollo *joys in burning HEAPS,*
The ſacred Entrals thro the fire unhurt
To carry thrice: ſo may you always tread,

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(39) Tum *Soracte* ſatum, praeſtantem corpore et armis,
Aequanum noſcens; patrio cui ritus in arvo,
Dum pius Arcitenens incenſis gaudet ACERVIS,
Exta ter innocuos latè portare per ignes:
Sic in Apollinea ſemper veſtigia prunâ
Inviolata teras; victorque vaporis, ad aras
Dona ſerenato referas Solennia Phoebo.
Lib. 5. ver. 175.

With unſcorch'd feet, the conſecrated coals;
And o'er the heat victorious, ſwiftly bear
The ſolemn gifts to pleas'd APOLLO's *Altar.*

Now let all the Commentators on this writer be conſulted, and then it will appear what ſad gueſs-work they have made about this paſſage; which is no leſs true of an infinite number of paſſages in other authors relating to ſuch cuſtoms: for a very conſiderable part of Italy follow'd moſt of the Druidical rites, as the inhabitants of ſuch places happen'd to be of Gallic extraction, which was the caſe of many Cantons in that delicious country. But this is particularly true of the Umbrians and Sabins, who are by all authors made the (40) antienteſt people of Italy, before the coming thither of any Greec Colonies. But they are by (41) SOLINUS from the hiſtorian BOCCHUS, by (42) SERVIUS from the elder MARC ANTONY, by (43) ISIDORE alſo and (44) TZETZES, in direct terms ſtil'd *the iſſue of the antient Gauls*, or a branch of them: and DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS, the moſt judicious of Antiquaries, proves out of ZENODOTUS, that the Sabins were deſcendants of the Umbrians; or, (45) as he expreſſes it, *Umbrians under the name of Sabins*. The reaſon I am ſo particular on this head, is, that the mountain (46) *Soracte* is in the Sabin country, in the diſtrict of the Faliſcans about 20 miles to the north of Rome, and on the weſt ſide of the Tyber. On the top of it were the Grove and Temple of APOLLO, and alſo his *Carn* (47), to which SILIUS, in the verſes juſt quoted out of him, alludes. PLINY has preſerv'd to us the very (48) name of the particular race of people, to which the performing of the above deſcrib'd annual ceremony belong'd: nor was it for nothing that they ran the risk of bliſtering their ſoles, ſince *for this they were exemted from ſerving in the wars, as well as from the expenſe and troble of ſeveral offices*. They were call'd HIRPINS. VIRGIL, much elder than SILIUS or PLINY, introduces ARUNS, one of that family, forming a deſign to kill CAMILLA, and thus praying for ſucceſs to APOLLO.

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(40) Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 3. cap. 14. Flor. lib. 1. cap. 17, &c.

(41) BOCCHUS abſolvit Gallorum veterum propaginem Umbros eſſe. *Polyhiſt. cap.* 8.

(42) Sanè Umbros Gallorum veterum propaginem eſſe, MARCUS ANTONIUS refert. *In lib.* 12. *Aeneid. ante fin.*

(43) Umbri Italiae gens eſt, ſed Gallorum veterum propago. *Origin. lib.* 9. *cap.* 2.

(44) Ὄμβροι γενος Γαλατικον ἢ Γαλατων. Schol. in Lycophron. *Alex. ad ver.* 1360.

> *O patron of* SORACTE'S *high abodes,*
> PHEBUS, *the ruling pow'r among the Gods!*

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(45) Σαβινους εξ Ομβρικων. *Antiq. Rom. lib.* I.

(46) Now *Monte di San ſylveſtro.*

(47) *Acervus.*

(48) Haud procul urbe Româ, in Faliſcorum agro familiae ſunt paucae, quae vocantur HIRPIAE; quaeque ſacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soracte APOLLINI, ſuper ambuſtam ligni ſtruem ambulantes, non aduruntur: et ob id perpetuo ſenatus conſulto militiae, aliorumque munerum, vacationem habent. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. Idem ex eodem *Solin. Polyhiſt. cap.* 8.

Whom firſt we ſerve, whole woods of unctuous pine
Burn on thy HEAP, *and to thy glory ſhine:*
By thee protected, with our naked ſoles
Thro flames unſing'd we paſs, and tread the kindl'd coals.
Give me, propitious pow'r, to waſh away
The ſtains of this diſhonorable day (49).
Dryden's verſion.

A Celtic Antiquary, ignorant of the origin of the Umbrians and Sabins, wou'd imagine, when reading what paſt on *Soracte*, that it was ſome Gallic, Brittiſh, or Iriſh mountain, the rites being abſolutely the ſame. We do not read indeed in our Iriſh Books, what preſervative againſt fire was us'd by thoſe, who ran barefoot over the burning coals of the Carns: and, to be ſure, they wou'd have the common people piouſly believe they us'd none. Yet that they really did, no leſs than the famous fire-eater, whom I lately ſaw making ſo great a figure at London, men of penetration and uncorrupted judgements will never queſtion. But we are not merely left to our judgements, for the fact is ſufficiently atteſted by that prodigy of knowledge, and *perpetual oppoſer of ſuperſtition*, MARCUS VARRO; *who*, as SERVIUS on the above-cited Paſſage of VIRGIL affirms (50), *deſcrib'd the very ointment of which the* HIRPINS *made uſe, beſmearing their feet with it, when they walk'd thro the fire.* Thus at all times have the multitude (that common Prey of Prieſts and Princes) been eaſily gull'd; ſwallowing ſecrets of natural Philoſophy for divine Miracles, and ready to do the greateſt good or hurt, not under the notions of vice or virtue: but barely as directed by men, who find it their Intereſt to deceive them.

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(49) Summe Deûm, ſancti cuſtos Soractis, Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor ACERVO
Paſcitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
Cultores multâ premimus veſtigia prunâ:
Da, pater, hoc noſtris aboleri dedecus armis.
Aen. lib. 11. *ver.* 785.

VIII. BUT leaving the Druids for a while, there are over and above the Carns, in the Highlands of Scotland and in the adjacent Iles numberleſs OBELISCS, or ſtones ſet up an end; ſome 30, ſome 24 foot high, others higher or lower: and this ſometimes where no ſuch ſtones are to be dug, Wales being likewiſe full of them; and ſome there are in the leaſt cultivated parts of England, with very many in Ireland. In moſt places of this laſt kingdom, the common people believe theſe Obeliſcs to be men, transform'd into ſtones by the Magic of the Druids. This is alſo the notion the vulgar have in Oxfordſhire of *Roll-*

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(50) Sed VARRO, ubique Religionis expugnator, ait, cùm quoddam medicamentum deſcriberet, *eo uti ſolent* HIRPINI, *qui ambulaturi per ignem, medicamento Plantas tingunt. Ad ver.* 787. *lib.* 11. *Aeneid.*

wright ſtones, and in Cornwall of the *Hurlers*; erect ſtones ſo call'd, but belonging to a different claſs from the Obeliſcs, whereof I now diſcourſe. And indeed in every country the ignorant people aſcribe to the Devil or ſome ſupernatural power, at leaſt to Giants, all works which ſeem to them to excede human art or ability. Thus among other things (for recording their Traditions will have its pleaſure as well as uſefulneſs) they account for the Roman Camps and Military Ways, calling ſuch the *Divel's Dykes*, or the like: while the more reaſonable part are perſuaded, that the erect ſtones of which we ſpeak, are the Monuments of dead perſons, whoſe aſhes or bones are often found near them; ſomtimes in Urns, and ſomtimes in ſtone-coffins, wherin ſcales, hammers, pieces of weapons, and other things have been often found, ſome of them very finely gilt or poliſh'd. Dogs alſo have been found bury'd with their maſters. The erect ſtones in the midſt of *ſtone-circles* (wherof before I have done) are not of this funeral ſort; nor does it follow, that all thoſe have been erected in Chriſtian times, which have Chriſtian Inſcriptions or Croſſes on them: for we read of many ſuch Obeliſcs thus ſanctify'd, as they ſpeak, in Wales and Scotland. And, in our Iriſh Hiſtories, we find the practice as early as PATRIC himſelf; who, having built the Church of *Donach*-PATRIC on the brink of *Loch*-HACKET (51) in the county of Clare, did there on three Coloſſes, erected in the times of Paganiſm, inſcribe the proper name of CHRIST in three languages: namely, JESUS in Hebrew on the firſt, SOTER in Greec on the ſecond, and SALVATOR in Latin on the third. That Obeliſc (if I may call it ſo) in the Pariſh of Barvas in the Iland of Lewis in Scotland, call'd the *Thruſhel-ſtone*, is very remarkable; being not onely above 20 foot high, which is yet ſurpaſs'd by many others: but likewiſe almoſt as much in breadth, which no other comes near.

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(51) Formerly *Domhnach-mor* and *Loch-ſealga*.

IX. BESIDES theſe Obeliſcs, there is a great number of FORTS in all the Iles of Scotland, very different from the Daniſh and Norwegian *Raths* in Ireland, or the Saxon and Daniſh *Burghs* in England: nor are they the ſame with the Gallic, Brittiſh, and Iriſh *Lios*, pronounc'd *Lis* (52); which are fortifications made of unwrought ſtones and uncemented, whereof there are two very extraordinary in the Iles of Aran, in the bay of Galway in Ireland. *Dún* is a general Celtic word for all fortifications made on an eminence, and the eminences themſelves are ſo call'd; as we ſee in many parts of England, and the ſandhills on the Belgic coaſt. Yet *Rath* and *Lis* are often confounded together, both in the ſpeech and writing of the Iriſh. But the Forts in queſtion are all of wrought ſtone, and often of ſuch large ſtones, as no number of men cou'd ever raiſe to the places they occupy, without the uſe of Engines; which Engines are quite unknown to the preſent inhabitants, and to their anceſtors for many ages paſt. There's none of the leſſer Iles, but has one Fort at leaſt, and they are commonly in ſight of each other: but the *Dún* in St. KILDA (for ſo they call the old fort there) is about 18 leagues diſtant from North Uiſt, and 20 from the middle of Lewis or Harries, to be ſeen only in a very fair day like a blewiſh miſt: but a large fire there wou'd be viſible at night, as the aſcending ſmoak by day. In this ſame Ile of Lewis (where are many ſuch Dúns) there's north of the village of Brago, a round fort compos'd of huge ſtones, and three ſtories high: that is, it has three hollow paſſages one over another, within a prodigious thick wall quite round the fort, with many windows and ſtairs. I give this onely as an example from Dr. MARTIN an eye-witneſs, who, with ſeveral others, mention many more ſuch elſwhere: yet (which is a great neglect) without acquainting us with their dimenſions, whether thoſe paſſages in the wall be arch'd, or with many ſuch things relating to the nature of the work; and omitting certain other circumſtances, no leſs neceſſary to be known. I mention theſe Forts, MY LORD, not as any way, that I yet know, appertaining to the Druids: but, in treating of the Monuments truely theirs, I take this natural occaſion of communicating, what may be worthy of your Lordſhip's curioſity and conſideration; eſpecially when, like Epiſodes in a Poem, they ſerve to relieve the attention, and are not very foren to the ſubject. Conſidering all things, I judge no monuments more deſerving our reſearches; eſpecially, if any ſhou'd prove them to be Phenician or Maſſilian Places of ſecurity for their commerce: ſince 'tis certain that both People have traded there, and that PYTHEAS of Marſeilles (as we are inform'd by STRABO) made a particular deſcription of thoſe Ilands; to which CESAR, among other Deſcriptions, without naming the authors, does doubtleſs (62) refer. But my own opinion I think fit at preſent to reſerve.

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(52) *Lios* in Iriſh, *Les* in Armoric, and *Lhys* in Welſh, ſignifies in Engliſh a *Court*; as *Lis-Luin*, *Lynſcourt.*

X. FROM the conjectures I have about theſe numerous and coſtly Forts, in Ilands ſo remote and barren, I paſs to the certainty I have concerning THE TEMPLES OF THE DRUIDS, whereof ſo many are yet intire in thoſe Iſlands, as well as in Wales and Ireland; with ſome left in England, where culture has moſtly deſtroy'd or impair'd ſuch monuments. Theſe Temples are *Circles of Obeliſcs* or erect ſtones, ſome larger, ſome narrower (as in all other Edifices) ſome more and ſome leſs magnificent. They are for the greaeſt part perfectly circular, but ſome of them ſemicircular: in others the Obeliſcs ſtand cloſe together, but in moſt ſeparate and equidiſtant. I am not ignorant that ſeveral, with Dr. CHARLTON in his *Stone-henge reſtor'd to the Danes*, believe thoſe Circles to be Daniſh works; a notion I ſhall eaſily confute in due time, and even now as I go along. But few have imagin'd 'em to be Roman, as the famous Architect INIGO JONES wou'd needs have this ſame *Stone-henge* (according to me one of the Druid Cathedrals) to be the Temple of CELUM or TERMINUS, in his *Stone-henge reſtor'd to the Romans*. Nevertheleſs, MY LORD, I promiſe you no leſs than demonſtration, that thoſe Circles were Druids Temples: againſt which aſſertion their frequenting of Oaks, and performing no religious rites without Oak-branches or Leaves, will prove no valid exception; no more than ſuch Circles being found in the Gothic countries, tho without *Altars*, whereof we ſhall ſpeak after the Temples. The outſide of the Churches in Spain and Holland is much the ſame, but their inſide differs extremely. As for INIGO JONES, he cannot be too much commended for his generous efforts (which ſhows an uncommon genius) to introduce a better taſte of Architecture into England, where 'tis ſtill ſo difficult a thing to get rid of Gothic Oddneſſes; and therefore 'tis no wonder he ſhou'd continue famous, when ſo few endeavour to excede him: but we muſt beg his pardon, if, as he was unacquainted with Hiſtory, and wanted certain other qualifications, we take the freedom in our Book to correct his miſtakes.

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(62) In hoc medio curſu [*inter Hiberniam ſcilicet & Britanniam*] eſt inſula, quae appellatur *Mona.* Complures praeterea minores objectae inſulae exiſtimantur, de quibus inſulis nonnulli ſcripſerunt, dies continuos 30 ſub bruma eſſe noctem. *De Bello Gallico, lib.* 5.

XI. IN the Iland of Lewis beforemention'd, at the village of Claſſerniſs, there is one of thoſe Temples extremely remarkable. The Circle conſiſts of 12 Obeliſcs, about 7 foot high each, and diſtant from each other ſix foot. In the center ſtands a ſtone 13 foot high, in the perfect ſhape of the rudder of a Ship. Directly ſouth from the Circle, there ſtand four Obeliſcs running out in a line; as another ſuch line due eaſt, and a third to the weſt, the number and diſtances of the ſtones being in theſe wings the ſame: ſo that this Temple, the moſt intire that can be, is at the ſame time both round and wing'd. But to the north there reach (by way of avenue) two ſtraight ranges of Obeliſcs, of the ſame bigneſs and diſtances with thoſe of the Circle; yet the ranges themſelves are 8 foot diſtant, and each conſiſting of 19 ſtones, the 39th being in the entrance of the avenue. This Temple ſtands aſtronomically, denoting the 12 ſigns of the Zodiac and the four principal winds, ſubdivided each into four others; by which, and the 19 ſtones on each ſide the avenue betokening the cycle of 19 years, I can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the Sun; but ſubordinately to the Seaſons and the Elements, particularly to the Sea and the

Winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle. The Sea, conſider'd as a Divinity, was by the ancient Gauls call'd ANVANA or ONVANA, as the raging Sea is ſtill call'd *Anaſa* in ſo many Letters by the Iriſh (63); and both of 'em, beſides that they were very good Aſtronomers, are known to have paid honor not only to the Sea, but alſo to the Winds and the Tempeſts, as the (64) Romans were wont to do. But of this in the account of their worſhip. I forgot to tell you, that there is another Temple about a quarter of a mile from the former; and that commonly two Temples ſtand near each other, for reaſons you will ſee in our *Hiſtory*. Eaſt of Drumcruy in the Scottiſh Ile of Aran, is a Circular Temple, whoſe area is about 30 paces over: and ſouth of the ſame Village is ſuch another Temple, in the center of which ſtill remains the Altar; being a broad thin ſtone, ſupported by three other ſuch ſtones. This is very extraordinary, tho (as you may ſee in my laſt Letter) not the onely example; ſince the zeal of the Chriſtians, ſomtimes apt to be over-heated, us'd to leave no Altars ſtanding but their own. In the greateſt Iland of

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(63) They vulgarly call the ſea *mor* or *muir*, *mara*, *cuan*, *fairge*, &c.

(64) Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores;
Taurum NEPTUNO, taurum tibi, pulcher APOLLO;
Nigram HYEMI pecudem, ZEPHYRIS felicibus albam.
Aen. lib. 3.

Videatur etiam Horatius, Epod. 10. ver. ult Cic. de nat. Deor. lib. 3. Et Ariſtoph. in Ranis cum ſuo Scholiaſte.

(65) Orkney, commonly call'd the *Mainland*, there are likewiſe two Temples, where the natives believe by Tradition, that the Sun and Moon were worſhipt: which belief of theirs is very right, ſince the leſſer Temple is ſemicircular. The greater is 110 paces diameter. They know not what to make of two green Mounts erected at the eaſt and weſt end of it: a matter nevertheleſs for which it is not difficult to account. There's a trench or ditch round each of theſe Temples, like that about Stonehenge; and, in ſhort, every ſuch Temple had the like incloſure. Many of the ſtones are above 20 or 24 foot in heigth above the ground, about 5 foot in breadth, and a foot or two in thickneſs. Some of 'em are fallen down: and the Temples are one on the eaſt and the other on the weſt ſide of the Lake of Stennis, where it is ſhallow and fordable, there being a paſſage over by large ſtepping ſtones. Near the leſſer Temple, (which is on the eaſt-ſide of the lake, as the greater on the weſt) there ſtand two ſtones of the ſame bigneſs with the (66) reſt; thro the middle of one of which there is a large hole, by which criminals and victims were ty'd. Likewiſe in the Iland of

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(65) The Iles of *Orkney* are denominated from *Orcas* or *Orca*, which, in DIODORUS SICULUS and PTOLEMY, is the ancient name of Caithneſs; and this from *Orc*, not a ſalmon (as by ſome interpreted) but a whale: ſo that in old Iriſh *Orc-i* is the *Whale Ilands*. The words of DIODORUS are, Το δε ὑπολιπομενον [της Βρετανιας] ανηκειν μεν ἱστορουσιν εις το πελαγον, ονομαζεσθαι δε Ορκαν. lib. 4.

(66) Brand, pag. 44.

Papa-Weſtra, another of the Orkneys, there ſtand, near a lake (now call'd St. TREDWELL'S (67) Loch) two ſuch Obeliſcs, in one of which there is the like hole; and behind them lying on the ground a third ſtone, being hollow like a trough.

XII. THESE few I only give for examples out of great numbers, as I likewiſe take the liberty to acquaint you (MY LORD) that at a place call'd *Biſcau-woon*, near Saint Burien's in Cornwall, there is a circular Temple conſiſting of 19 ſtones, the diſtance between each 12 foot; and a twentieth in the center, much higher than the reſt. But I am not yet inform'd, whether this middle ſtone has any peculiar figure, or whether inſcrib'd with any characters; for ſuch characters are found in Scotland, and ſome have been obſerv'd in Wales; but (except the Roman and Chriſtian Inſcriptions) unintelligible to ſuch as have hitherto ſeen them. Yet they ought to have been fairly repreſented, for the uſe of ſuch as might have been able perhaps to explain them. They would at leaſt exerciſe our Antiquaries. The Circle of *Rollrich-ſtones* in Oxfordſhire, and the *Hurlers* in Cornwall, are two of thoſe Druid Temples. There is one at Aubury in Wiltſhire, and ſome left in other places of England. In GREGORY *of Tours* time there was remaining, and for ought I know may ſtill be ſo, one of thoſe Temples on the top of BELEN'*s Mount* between Arton and Riom in Auvergne. It was within this incloſure that MARTIN, the ſainted Biſhop, ſtood taking a (68) view of the country, as before mention'd. Now of ſuch Temples I ſhall mention here no more, but procede to the Druids ALTARS, which, as I ſaid before, do ordinarily conſiſt of four ſtones; three being hard flags, or large tho thin ſtones ſet up edgewiſe, two making the ſides, and a ſhorter one the end, with a fourth ſtone of the ſame kind on the top: for the other end was commonly left open, and the Altars were all oblong. Many of 'em are not intire. From ſome the upper ſtone is taken away, from others one of the ſide-ſtones or the end. And, beſides the alterations that men have caus'd in all theſe kinds of monuments, Time it ſelf has chang'd 'em much more. Mr. BRAND ſpeaking of the Obeliſcs in Orkney, *many of 'em* (ſays (69) he) *appear to be much worn, by the waſhing of the wind and rain, which ſhows they are of a long ſtanding: and it is very ſtrange to think, how, in thoſe places and times, they got ſuch large ſtones carry'd and erected.* 'Tis naturally impoſſible, but that, in the courſe of ſo many ages, ſeveral ſtones muſt have loſt their figure; their angles being expos'd to all weathers, and no care taken to repair any diſorder, nor to prevent any abuſe of them. Thus ſome are become lower, or jagged, or otherwiſe irregular and diminiſh'd: many are quite waſted, and moſs or ſcurf hides the Inſcriptions or Sculptures of others; for ſuch Sculptures there are in ſeveral places, particularly in Wales and the Scottiſh Ile of Aran. That one ſort of ſtone laſts longer than another is true: but that all will have their period, no leſs than Parchment and Paper, is as true.

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(67) Brand, pag. 58.

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(68) Extat nunc in hoc loco cancellus, in quo Sanctus dicitur ſtetiſſe. *Gregor. Turon. de Gloria Confeſſor. cap.* 5.

(69) Pag. 46.

XIII. THERE are a great many of the ALTARS to be ſeen yet intire in Wales, particularly two in Kerig Y Drudion pariſh mention'd in my other Letter, and one in Lhan-Hammúlch pariſh in Brecknockſhire; with abundance elſewhere, diligently obſerv'd by one I mention'd in my firſt Letter, Mr. EDWARD LHUYD, who yet was not certain to what uſe they were deſtin'd. Here I beg the favor of your Lordſhip to take it for granted, that I have ſufficient authorities for every thing I alledge: and tho I do not always give them in this brief *Specimen*, yet in the *Hiſtory* it ſelf they ſhall be produc'd on every proper occaſion. The Druids Altars were commonly in the middle of the Temples, near the great Coloſſus, of which preſently; as there is now ſuch a one at Carn-Lhechart in the pariſh of Lhan-Gyvelach in Glamorganſhire, beſides that which I mention'd before in Scotland. They are by the Welſh in the ſingular number call'd *Kiſt-váen*, that is a ſtone-cheſt, and in the plural *Kiſtieu-váen*, ſtone-cheſts. Theſe names, with a ſmall variation, are good Iriſh: but the things quite different from thoſe real ſtone-cheſts or coffins (commonly of one block and the lid) that are in many places found under ground. The vulgar Iriſh call theſe Altars (70) DERMOT *and* GRANIA*'s bed.* This laſt was the Daughter of King Cormac Ulfhada, and Wife to (71) Fin mac Cuil; from whom, as invincible a General and Champion as he's reported to have been, ſhe took it in her head (as women will ſomtimes have ſuch fancies) to run away with a nobleman, call'd (72) Dermot O Duvny: but being purſu'd every where, the ignorant country people ſay, they were intertain'd a night in every quarter-land (73) or village of Ireland; where the inhabitants ſympathizing with their affections, and doing to others what they wou'd be done unto, made theſe beds both for their reſting and hiding place. The Poets, you may imagine, have not been wanting to imbelliſh this ſtory: and hence it appears, that the Druids were planted as thick as Pariſh Prieſts, nay much thicker. Wherever there's a Circle without an Altar, 'tis certain there was one formerly; as Altars are found where the Circular Obeliſcs are moſtly or all taken away for other uſes, or out of averſion to this ſuperſtition, or that time has conſum'd them. They, who, from the bones, which are often found near thoſe Altars and Circles (tho ſeldom within them) will needs infer, that they were burying places; forget what CESAR, PLINY, TACITUS, and other authors, write of the human ſacrifices offer'd by the Druids: and, in miſtaking the aſhes found in the Carns, they ſhow themſelves ignorant of thoſe ſeveral anniverſary fires and ſacrifices, for which they were rear'd, as we have ſhown above. The huge coping ſtones of theſe Carns were in the nature of Altars, and Altars of the leſſer form are frequently found near them; as now in the great Latin and Greec Churches, there are, beſides the High Altar, ſeveral ſmaller ones.

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(70) *Leaba* Dhiarmait *agus* Ghraine.
(71) Finn mhac Cubhaill.
(72) Diarmait O Duibhne.
(73) *Seiſreach & Ceathramhach.*

XIV. THERE's another kind of Altar much bigger than either of theſe, conſiſting of a greater number of ſtones; ſome of 'em ſerving to ſupport the others, by reaſon of their enormous bulk. Theſe the Britons term CROMLECH in the ſingular, *Cromlechu* in the plural number; and the Iriſh CROMLEACH or *Cromleac*, in the plural *Cromleacha* or *Cromleacca*. By theſe Altars, as in the center of the Circular Temples, there commonly ſtands (or by accident lyes) a prodigious ſtone, which was to ſerve as a Pedeſtal to ſome Deity: for all theſe *Cromleachs* were places of worſhip, and ſo call'd from *bowing*, the word ſignifying the (74) *bowing-ſtone*. The original deſignation of the Idol CRUM-CRUACH (whereof in the next ſection) may well be from *Cruim*, an equivalent word to *Taireach Taran* or *Tarman*, all ſignifying Thunder; whence the Romans call'd the Gallic Jupiter *Taramis* or *Taranis*, the thunderer: and from theſe *Cromleachs* it is, that in the oldeſt Iriſh a Prieſt is call'd *Cruimthear*, and Prieſthood *Cruimtheacd*, which are ſo many evident veſtiges of the Druidical (75) religion. There's a *Cromlech* in Nevern-Pariſh in Pembrokeſhire, where the middle ſtone is ſtill 18 foot high, and 9 broad towards the baſe, growing narrower upwards. There lyes by it a piece broken of 10 foot long, which ſeems more than 20 oxen can draw: and therefore they were not void of all skill in the Mechanics, who could ſet up the whole. But one remaining at Poitiers in France, ſupported by five leſſer ſtones, excedes all in the Britiſh Ilands, as being ſixty foot in circumference (76). I fancy however that this was a *Rocking-ſtone*: There's alſo a noble *Cromleach* at Bod-oúyr in Angleſey. Many of them, by a modeſt computation, are 30 tun weight: but they differ in bigneſs, as all pillars do, and their Altars are ever bigger than the ordinary *Kiſtieu-váen*. In ſome places of Wales theſe ſtones are call'd *Meineu-gúyr*, which is of the ſame import with *Cromlechu*. In Caithneſs, and other remote parts of Scotland, theſe Cromleacs are very numerous, ſome pretty entire; and others, not ſo much conſum'd by time or thrown down by ſtorms, as diſorder'd and demoliſh'd by the hands of men. But no ſuch altars were ever found by OLAUS WORMIUS, the great northern antiquary (which I deſire the abettors of Dr. CHARLTON to note) nor by any others in the Temples of the Gothic nations; as I term all who ſpeak the ſeveral dialects of Gothic original, from Izeland to Switzerland, and from the Bril in Holland to Presburg in Hungary, the Bohemians and Polanders excepted. The Druids were onely coextended with the Celtic dialects: beſides that CESAR ſays expreſly, there were (77) no Druids among the Germans, with whom he ſays as expreſly that *ſeeing and feeling was believing* (honoring onely the Sun, the Fire, and the Moon, *by which they were manifeſtly benefited*) and that they made no ſacrifices at all: which of courſe made altars as uſeleſs there (tho afterwards grown faſhionable) as they were neceſſary in the DruidsTemples, and which they ſhow more than probably to have been Temples indeed; nor are they call'd by any other name, or thought to have been any other thing, by the Highlanders or their Iriſh progenitors. In Jerſey likewiſe, as well as in the other neighbouring Ilands, formerly part of the Dutchy of Normandy, there are many Altars and Cromlechs. *There are yet remaining in this Iland* (ſays Dr. FALLE in the 115th page of his account of Jerſey) *ſome old monuments of Paganiſm. We call them* Pouqueleys. *They are great flat ſtones, of vaſt bigneſs and weight; ſome oval, ſome quadrangular, rais'd* 3 *or* 4 *foot from the ground, and ſupported by others of a leſs ſize. 'Tis evident both from their figure, and great quantities of aſhes found in the ground thereabouts, that they were us'd for Altars in thoſe times of ſuperſtition: and their ſtanding on eminences near the ſea, inclines me alſo to think, that they were dedicated to the Divinities of the Ocean. At ten or twelve foot diſtance there is a ſmaller ſtone ſet up an end, in manner of a desk; where 'tis ſuppos'd the Prieſt kneel'd, and perform'd ſome ceremonies, while the Sacrifice was burning on the altar.* Part of this account is miſtaken, for the culture of the inland parts is the reaſon that few *Pouqueleys* are left, beſides thoſe on the barren rocks and hills on the ſea ſide: nor is that ſituation alone ſufficient for entitling them to the Marine Powers, there being proper marks to diſtinguiſh ſuch whereſoever ſituated.

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(74) From *crom* or *crum*, which, in Armoric, Iriſh, and Welſh, ſignifies *bent*; and *Lech* or *Leac*, a broad ſtone.

(75) Of the ſame nature is *Cairneach*, of which before: for *Sagart*, the ordinary word for a Prieſt, is manifeſtly form'd from *Sacerdos*.

(76) La pierre levée de Poitiers a ſoixante pieds de tour, & elle eſt poſée ſur cinq autres pierres, ſans qu'on ſache non plus ni pourquoi, ni comment. CHEVREAU, *Memoires d'Angleterre*, page 380.

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(77) Germani——neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis praeſint, neque Sacrificiis ſtudent. Deorum numero eos ſolos ducunt, *quos cernunt*, et quorum operibus *apertè juvantur*; Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne famâ quidem acceperunt. *De Bello Gallico, lib.* 6.

XV. BUT to return to our Cromleachs, the chiefeſt in all Ireland was CRUM-CRUACH, which ſtood in the midſt of a Circle of twelve Obeliſcs on a hill in Brefin, a diſtrict of the county of Cavan, formerly belonging to Letrim. It was all over cover'd with gold and ſilver, the leſſer figures on the twelve ſtones about it being onely of braſs; which mettals, both of the ſtones and the ſtatues that they bore, became every where the prey of the Chriſtian Prieſts, upon the converſion of that kingdom. The legendary writers of PATRIC's *Life* tell many things no leſs ridiculous than incredible, about the deſtruction of this Temple of *Moyſlect* (78), or *the field of Adoration*, in Brefin; where the ſtumps of the circular Obliſcs are yet to be ſeen, and where they were noted by writers to have ſtood long before any Daniſh invaſion, which ſhows how groundleſs Dr. CHARLTON's notion is. The Biſhop's See of Clogher had its name from one of thoſe ſtones, all cover'd with gold (*Clochoir* ſignifying *the golden ſtone*) on which ſtood KERMAND KELSTACH, the chief Idol of Ulſter (79). This ſtone is ſtill in being. To note it here by the way, Sir JAMES WARE was miſtaken, when, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, he ſaid Arcklow and Wicklow were foren names: whereas they are mere Iriſh, the firſt being *Ardeloch*, and the ſecond *Bu-*

(78) *Magh-sléucht.*
(79) MERCURIUS CELTICUS.

idhe-cloch, from high and yellow ſtones of this conſecrated kind. 'Tis not to vindicate either the Celtic nations in general, or my own countrymen in particular, for honoring of ſuch ſtones, or for having ſtony ſymbols of the Deity; but to ſhow they were neither more ignorant nor barbarous in this reſpect than the politeſt of nations, the Greecs and the Romans, that here I muſt make a ſhort literary excurſion. Wherefore, I beg your Lordſhip to remember, that Kermand Kelstach was not the onely Mercury of rude ſtone, ſince the Mercury of the Greecs was not portray'd antiently in the ſhape of a youth, with wings to his heels and a caduceus in his hand; but (80) *without hands or feet, being a ſquare ſtone*, ſays Phurnutus, and I ſay without any ſculpture. The reaſon given for it by the Divines of thoſe days, was, *that as the ſquare figure betoken'd his ſolidity and ſtability; ſo he wanted neither hands nor feet to execute what he was commanded by* Jove. Thus *their merry-making* Bacchus *was figur'd among the Thebans by a* (81) *pillar onely*. So *the Arabians worſhip I know not what God* (ſays (82) Maximus Tyrius) *and the ſtatue that I ſaw of*

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(80) Πλαττεται δε και αχειρ, και απους, και τετραγωνος τῳ σχηματι, δ'Ερμης: τετραγωνος μεν, το εδραιον τε και ασφαλες εχειν ----αχειρ δε και απους, επει ουτε ποδων ουτε χειρων δειται, προς το ανυειν το προκειμενον αυτῳ. *De Nat. Deor. cap.* 16.

(81) Στυλος Θεβαιοίσι Διωνυσσος πολυγηθης. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib.* 1.

(82) Αραβιοι σεβουσι μεν ὁντινα δ'ουκ οιδα: το δε αγαλμα ὁ ειδον λιθὸς ην τετραγωνος. *Serm.* 38.

him, was a ſquare ſtone. I ſhall ſay nothing here of the oath of the Romans *per Jovem Lapidem.* But no body pretends that the Gauls were more ſubtil Theologues or Philoſophers, than the Arabians, Greecs, or Romans; at leaſt many are apt not to believe it of their Iriſh Ofspring: yet 'tis certain, that all thoſe nations meant by theſe ſtones without ſtatues, *the* (83) *eternal ſtability and power of the Deity*; and that he cou'd not be repreſented by any ſimilitude, nor under any figure whatſoever. For the numberleſs figures, which, notwithſtanding this doctrine, they had (ſome of 'em very ingenious, and ſome very fantaſtical) were onely emblematical or enigmatical ſymbols of the divine attributes and operations, but not of the divine eſſence. Now as ſuch ſymbols in different places were different, ſo they were often confounded together, and miſtaken for each other. Nor do I doubt, but in this manner the numerous Carns in Gaule and Britain induc'd the Romans to believe, that MERCURY was their (84) chief God, becauſe among themſelves he had ſuch heaps, as I ſhow'd above; whereas the Celtic heaps were all dedicated to BELENUS, or the Sun. The Roman Hiſtorians in particular are often miſled by likeneſſes, as has been already, and will not ſeldom again, be ſhown in our *Hiſtory*; eſpecially with regard to the Gods, ſaid to have been worſhip'd by the Gauls. Thus ſome modern Critics have forg'd new Gods, out of the ſepulchral inſcriptions of Gallic Heroes. I ſhall ſay no more of ſuch pillars, but that many of them have a cavity on the top, capable to hold a pint, and ſomtimes more; with a channel or groove, about an inch deep, reaching from this hollow place to the ground, of the uſe whereof in due time.

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(83) Το ανεικυνιϛον του θεου και μονιμον. *Id. Ibid.*

(84) Deum maximè Mercurium colunt. Hujus ſunt plurima ſimulacra, &c. *Caeſ. de bello Gallico, lib.* 6.

XVI. NOR will I dwell longer here, than our ſubject requires, on the FATAL STONE ſo call'd, on which the ſupreme Kings of Ireland us'd to be inaugurated in times of Heatheniſm on the hill of (85) *Tarah* (86); and which

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(85) *Teamhuir*, or in the oblique caſes *Teamhra*, whence corruptly *Taragh*, or *Tarah*.

(86) The true names of this ſtone are *Liag-fail* or *the fatal ſtone*, and *Cloch na cineamhna* or *the ſtone of fortune*: both of them from a perſuaſion the antient Iriſh had, that, in what country ſoever this ſtone remain'd, there one of their blood was to reign. But this prov'd as falſe as ſuch other propheſies for 300 years, from EDWARD the firſt to the reign of JAMES the firſt in England. The Druidical Oracle is in verſe, and in theſe original words:

Cioniodh ſcuit ſaor an ſine,
Man ba breag an Faiſdine,
Mar a bhfuighid an Lia-fail,
Dlighid flaitheas do ghabhail.

Which may be read thus truely, but monkiſhly tranſlated, in HECTOR BOETHIUS:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem hunc, regnare tenentur ibidem.

The Lowland Scots have rhym'd it thus:

Except old Saws do feign,
And wizards wits be blind,
The Scots in place muſt reign,
Where they this ſtone ſhall find,

which being incloſ'd in a wooden Chair, was thought to emit a ſound under the rightful Candidate (a thing eaſily manag'd by the Druids) but to be mute under a man of none or a bad title, that is, one who was not for the turn of thoſe Prieſts. Every one has read of Memnon's vocal ſtatue in Egypt. This fatal ſtone was ſuperſtitiouſly ſent to confirm the Iriſh Colony in the north of Great Britain, where it continu'd as the Coronation-ſeat of the Scottiſh Kings, even ſince Chriſtianity; till, in the

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And ſome Engliſh Poet has thus render'd it;

Conſider Scot, wher'e'er you find this ſtone,
If fates fail not, there fixt muſt be your throne.

The Iriſh pretend to have memoirs concerning it for above 2000 years: nay Ireland it ſelf is ſometimes, from this ſtone, by the poets call'd *Inis-fail.* But how ſoon they begun to uſe it, or whence they had it, lyes altogether in the dark. What's certain is, that after having long continu'd at Tarah, it was, for the purpoſe I have mentioned, ſent to FERGUS, the firſt actual King of Scots; and that it lay in Argile (the original ſeat of the Scots in Britain) till, about the year of Chriſt 842, that KENETH the 2d, the ſon of ALPIN, having inlarg'd his borders by the conqueſt of the Picts, transferr'd this ſtone, for the ſame purpoſe as before, to Scone. So great reſpect is ſtill paid by Chriſtians to a Heathen Propheſy! not onely falſe in fact, as I have this moment prov'd; but evidently illuſory and equivocal, it being a thing moſt difficult to find any prince in Europe, who, ſome way or other, may not claim kindred of every other princely race about him, and conſequently be of that blood. This is the caſe of our preſent Soverain King GEORGE, who is indeed deſcended of the Scottiſh race, but yet in propriety of ſpeech is not of the Scottiſh line; but the firſt here of the Brunſwick line, as others begun the Brittiſh, Saxon, Daniſh, Saxo-Daniſh, Norman, Saxo-Norman, and Scottiſh lines. Yet this not being the ſenſe in which the Iriſh and Scots underſtand the Oracle, they ought conſequently at this very time to look upon it as falſe, and groundleſs.

year 1300, EDWARD the firſt of England brought it from Scone, placing it under the Coronation-chair at Weſtminſter: and there it ſtill continues, the antienteſt reſpected monument in the world; for tho ſome others may be more antient as to duration, yet thus ſuperſtitiouſly regarded they are not. I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that 'tis now by the vulgar call'd JACOB-*ſtone*, as if this had been JACOB's pillow at Bethel (87). Neither ſhall I be more copious in treating of another kind of ſtones, tho belonging alſo to our ſubject. They are roundiſh and of vaſt bulk; but ſo artificially pitch'd on flat ſtones, ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer in number: that touching the great ſtone lightly, it moves, and ſeems to totter, to the great amazement of the ignorant; but ſtirs not, at leaſt not ſenſibly (for that is the caſe) when one uſes his whole ſtrength. Of this ſort is *Maen-amber* in Cornwall, and another in the Peak of Derby, whereof Dr. WOODWARD has given me an account from his own obſervation. Some there are in Wales, one that I have ſeen in the Pariſh of Clunmany (88) in the north of Ireland, and the famous *rocking ſtones* in Scotland; of all which, and many more, in our *Hiſtory*. Yet I cou'd not excuſe it to my ſelf, if I did not with the ſooneſt, let your Lordſhip into the ſecret of this reputed Magic; which the no leſs learned antiquary than able Phyſician, Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, has diſcover'd in the appendix to his *Hiſtory of Fife and Kinroſs*. That Gentleman ſpeaking of the Rocking-ſtone near Balvaird (or the Bards town) *I am inform'd*, ſays he, *that this ſtone was broken by the uſurper* [CROMWEL'*s*] *Soldiers; and it was diſcover'd then, that its motion was perform'd by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under-ſurface of the upper-ſtone, which was inſerted in a cavity in the ſurface of the lower ſtone.* To which let me add, that as the lower ſtone was flat, ſo the upper ſtone was globular: and that not onely a juſt proportion in the motion, was calculated from the weight of the ſtone, and the wideneſs of the cavity, as well as the oval figure of the inſerted prominence; but that the vaſt bulk of the upper ſtone did abſolutely conceal the mechaniſm of the motion; and the better ſtill to impoſe, there were two or three Surrounding flat ſtones, tho that onely in the middle was concern'd in the feat. By this pretended miracle they condemn'd of perjury, or acquitted, as their intereſt or their affection led them; and often brought criminals to confeſs, what could be no other way extorted from them. So prevalent is the horror of Superſtition in ſome caſes, which led many people to fancy (and among them the otherwiſe moſt judicious STRABO) that it might be a uſeful cheat to ſociety: not conſidering that in other caſes (incomparably more numerous and important) it is moſt detrimental, pernicious, and deſtructive, being ſolely uſeful to the Prieſts that have the management of it; while it not onely diſturbs or diſtreſſes ſociety, but very often confounds and finally overturns it, of which Hiſtory abounds with examples.

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(87) Gen. 28. 11, 18, 19.
(88) *Cluainmaine*.

XVII. I COME now to the DRUID'S HOUSES, by which I don't mean their Forts or towns, of which they had many, but not as Church-lands; nor yet the houſes for their ſchools, ſituated in the midſt of pleaſant groves: but I mean little, arch'd, round, ſtone buildings, capable only of holding one perſon, where the retir'd and contemplative Druid ſat, when his Oak could not ſhelter him from the weather. There's another ſort of Druid's houſes much larger. Of both theſe ſorts remain ſeveral yet intire in the Ile of Sky, and alſo in ſome other Iles; being by the Natives (89) call'd *Tighthe nan Druidhneach*, that is, Druids houſes. Many of them are to be ſeen in Wales, and ſome in Ireland: but different from thoſe under-ground-houſes, or artificial Caves, which are in all thoſe places; conſiſting frequently of ſeveral chambers, and generally opening towards rivers or the ſea: having been, as thoſe of the Germans deſcrib'd by (90) TACITUS, magazins againſt the extreme rigor of winter, or hiding places for men and goods in time of war. The vulgar in the Ilands do ſtill ſhow a great reſpect for the *Druid's houſes*, and never come to the antient ſacrificeing and fire-hallowing *Carns*, but they walk three times round them from eaſt to weſt, according to the courſe of the Sun. This ſanctify'd tour or round by the ſouth, is call'd (91) *Deiſeal*; as the unhallow'd contrary one by the north, (92) *Tuapholl.* But the Iriſh and Albanian Scots do not derive the firſt (as a certain friend of mine imagin'd) from *Di-ſul*, which ſignifies *Sunday* in Armorican Britiſh, as *Dydh-ſŷl* in Welſh and *De-zil* in Corniſh do the ſame; but from (93) *Deas*, the *right* (underſtanding *hand*) and *Soil*, one of the antient names of the Sun, the right hand in this round being ever next the heap. The Proteſtants in the Hebrides are almoſt as much addicted to the *Deiſiol*, as the Papiſts. Hereby it may be ſeen, how hard it is to eradicate inveterate Superſtition. This cuſtom was us'd three thouſand years ago, and God knows how long before, by their anceſtors the antient Gauls of the ſame religion with them; who *turn'd round right-hand-wiſe, when they worſhip'd their Gods*, as (94) ATHENEUS informs us out of POSIDONIUS a much elder writer. Nor is this contradicted, but clearly confirm'd by PLINY, who ſays, *that the Gauls, contrary to the cuſtom of the* (95) *Romans, turn'd to the left in their religious ceremonies*; for as they begun their worſhip towards the eaſt, ſo they turn'd about, as our Ilanders do now, from eaſt to weſt according to the courſe of the Sun, that is, from the right to the left, as PLINY has obſerv'd; whereas the left was among the Romans reputed the right in Augury, and in all devotions anſwering it. Nor were their neighbors, the Aboriginal Italians (moſt of 'em of Gallic deſcent) ſtrangers to this cuſtom of worſhipping right-hand-wiſe, which, not to allege more Paſſages, may be ſeen by this one in the (96) *Curculio* of PLAUTUS, who was himſelf one of them: *when you worſhip the Gods, do it turning to the right hand*; which anſwers to turning from the weſt to the eaſt. It is perhaps from this reſpectful turning from eaſt to weſt, that we retain the cuſtom of drinking over the left thumb, or, as others expreſs it, according to the courſe of the Sun; the breaking of which order, is reckon'd no ſmall impropriety, if not a downright indecency, in Great Britain and Ireland. And no wonder, ſince this, if you have faith in HOMER, was the cuſtom of the Gods themſelves. VULCAN, in the firſt book of the (97) *Iliad*, filling a bumper to his mother JUNO,

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(89) Corruptly *Tinan Druinich.*

(90) Solent et ſubterraneos ſpecus aperire, eoſque multo inſuper fimo onerant: ſuffugium hiemi, ac receptaculum frugibus; quia rigorem frigorum ejuſmodi locis molliunt. Et ſi quando hoſtis advenit, aperta populatur: abdita autem et defoſſa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipſo fallunt, quod quaerenda ſunt. *De moribus German. cap.* 3.

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(91) *Dextrorſum.*

(92) *Siniſtrorſum.*

(93) Item *Deis.*

(94) 'Ουτοι θεους προσκυνουσιν, επι τα δεξια ϛρεφομενοι. Lib. 4. pag. 152.

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(95) In adorando dexteram ad oſculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus; quod in laevum feciſſe Galli religioſius credunt. *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* 28. *cap.* 2.

(96) Si Deos ſalutas, dextrovorſum cenſeo. *Act.* 1. *Scen.* 1. *ver.* 70.

> *To th' other Gods, going round from right*
> *to left,*
> *Skenk'd Nectar ſweet, which from full flask*
> *he pour'd.*

But more of the right hand in the chapter of *Augury*.

XVIII. TO reſume our diſcourſe about the Druids houſes, one of them in the Iland of St. KILDA is very remarkable; and, according to the tradition of the place, muſt have belong'd to a Druideſs. But be this as it will, it is all of ſtone, without lime, or mortar, or earth to cement it: 'tis alſo arch'd, and of a conic figure; but open at the top, and a fireplace in the middle of the floor. It cannot contain above nine perſons, to ſit eaſy by each other: and from this whole deſcription 'tis clear, that the edifice call ARTHUR'*s Oven* in Sterlingſhire, juſt of the ſame form and dimenſions, is by no means of Roman original, whatever our antiquaries have thoughtleſly fancy'd to the contrary. Some make it the Temple of TERMINUS, and others a triumphal arch, when they might as well have fancy'd it to be a hogtrough: ſo little is it like any of thoſe arches.

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(97) Αυταρ ὁ τοις αλλοισι θεοις ενδεξια πασιν
Ωνοχοει, γλυκυ νεκταρ απο κρητηρος αφυσσων.
Il. I. ver. 597.

As to the houſe in St. KILDA, there go off from the ſide of the wall three low vaults, ſeparated from each other by pillars, and capable of containing five perſons a piece. Juſt ſuch another houſe in all reſpects, but much larger, and grown over with a green ſod on the outſide, is in Borera, an Ile adjacent to St. KILDA; and was the habitation of a Druid, who 'tis probable was not unacquainted with his neighboring Drudeſs. Shetland abounds with another kind of ſtone houſes, not unfrequent in Orkney, which they aſcribe to the Picts; as they are apt all over Scotland to make every thing Pictiſh, whoſe origin they do not know. The Belgae or Firbolgs ſhare this honor with the Picts in Ireland, and King ARTHUR is reputed the author of all ſuch fabrics in Wales, except that thoſe of Angleſey father 'em on the Iriſh. Theſe inſtances I have given your Lordſhip, to convince you, how imperfect all *Treatiſes about the Druids* (hitherto publiſh'd) muſt needs be; ſince they contain nothing of this kind, tho ever ſo eſſential to the ſubject: and that none of theſe Monuments, very frequent in France, are there aſcrib'd to the Druids, their records about ſuch things being all loſt; while very many of ours happily remain to clear them, ſince the uſages were the ſame in both countries. Nor are thoſe Treatiſes leſs defective in the more inſtructive part, concerning the *Druidicall Philoſophy and Politics*, whereof the modern French and Brittiſh writers, have in reality known nothing further, than the Claſſic authors furniſh'd 'em; or if they add any thing, 'tis abſolutely fabulous, ill-invented, and unauthoriz'd. Theſe ſubjects I reſerve intire for my greater work. JOHN AUBREY Eſq; a Member of the Royal Society (with whom I became acquainted at Oxford, when I was a ſojourner there; and collecting during my idler hours a Vocabulary of Armorican and Iriſh words, which, in ſound and ſignification, agree better together than with the Welſh) was the only perſon I ever then met, who had a right notion of the Temples of the Druids, or indeed any notion that the Circles ſo often mention'd were ſuch Temples at all: wherein he was intirely confirm'd, by the authorities which I ſhow'd him; as he ſupply'd me in return with numerous inſtances of ſuch Monuments, which he was at great pains to obſerve and ſet down. And tho he was extremely ſuperſtitious, or ſeem'd to be ſo: yet he was a very honeſt man, and moſt accurate in his accounts of matters of fact. But the facts he knew, not the reflections he made, were what I wanted. Nor will I deny juſtice on this occaſion, to a perſon whom I cited before, and who in many other reſpects merits all the regard which the curious can pay; I mean Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, who, in his foreſaid *Hiſtory of Fife* (but very lately come to my hands) affirms, that there are ſeveral Druids Temples to be ſeen every where in Scotland, particularly in the County he deſcribes. *Theſe* (ſays he) *are great ſtones plac'd in a circle, at ſome diſtance from each other,* &

&c. Mr. Aubrey ſhow'd me ſeveral of Dr. Garden's letters from that kingdom to the ſame purpoſe, but in whoſe hands now I know not.

XIX. I shall conclude this Letter with two examples of ſuch works, as tho not (that I can hitherto learn) belonging any way to the Druids, yet they may poſſibly be of that kind: or be they of what kind you will, they certainly merit our notice; as, together with thoſe for which we can truely account, they highly ſerve to illuſtrate the Antiquities of our Brittiſh world. My firſt example is in the Main-land of Orkney, deſcrib'd among the reſt of thoſe Iſlands by Dr. Wallace and Mr. Brand; where, on the top of a high rocky hill at the weſt end of the Iland near the village of Skeal, there is a ſort of pavement, conſiſting of ſtones variouſly figur'd, ſome like a heart, others like a crown, others like a leg, ſome like a weaver's ſhuttle, others of other forms: and ſo on for above a quarter of a mile in length, and from 20 to 30 foot in breadth. In taking up any of theſe ſtones, the figure is as neat on the underſide as the upper: and being as big as the life, all of one color, or a reddiſh kind of ſtone pitch'd in a reddiſh earth, and the pavement being ſo very long; it cannot poſſibly be any of the teſſellated, or chequer'd works of the Romans. *I ſaw a part of the garden wall of the houſe of Skeal,* ſays (98) Mr. Brand, *de-*

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(98) Pag. 43.

corated with theſe ſtones: and we intended to have ſent a parcel of them to our friends in the ſouth, as a rarity; if they had not been forgot, at our return from Zet-land. Dr. WALLACE (99) alſo ſays, that many of the ſtones are taken away by the neighboring gentry, to ſet them up like Dutch tiles in their chimneys: ſo that, at this rate, in leſs than a century this pavement will in all likelihood ſubſiſt only in books. All ſuch Monuments, when I go to Scotland, I ſhall ſo accurately deſcribe in every reſpect, and give ſuch accounts of them where accountable; that I hope the curious will have reaſon to be ſatisfy'd, or at leaſt ſome abler perſon be emulous of ſatisfying the world, and me among the reſt. Wherever I am at a loſs, I ſhall frankly own it; and never give my conjectures for more than what they are, that is, probable gueſſes: and certainly nothing can be more amiſs in Inquiries of this kind, than to obtrude ſuppoſitions for matters of fact. Upon all ſuch occaſions, I deſire the ſame liberty with CRASSUS in CICERO *de* (100) *Oratore*: that *I may deny being able to do, what I'me ſure I cannot; and to confeſs that I am ignorant, of what I do not know.* This I ſhall not onely be ever ready to do my ſelf, but to account it in others a learned ignorance.

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(99) Pag. 55.

(100) Mihi liceat negare poſſe, quod non potero; et fateri neſcire, quod neſciam. *lib. 2.*

XX. BUT, MY LORD, before I take my intended journey, I deſire the favour of having your thoughts upon my next example. I ſpeak of a couple of inſtances, really parallel; brought here together from parts of the world no leſs diſtant in their ſituation and climates, than different in their condition and manners. Egypt, I mean, and the Iles of Scotland. Yet this they have in common, that Egypt, once the mother of all arts and ſciences, is now as ignorant of her own monuments, and as fabulous in the accounts of them, as any Highlanders can be about theirs. Such changes however are as nothing in the numberleſs revolutions of ages. But to our ſubject. HERODOTUS ſays, in the ſecond Book of his *Hiſtory*, that near to the entry of the magnificent Temple of MINERVA at Sais in Egypt (of which he ſpeaks with admiration) he ſaw an edifice 21 cubits in length, 14 in breadth, and 8 in heigth, the whole conſiſting onely of one ſtone; and that it was brought thither by ſea, from a place about 20 days ſailing from Sais. This is my firſt inſtance. And, parallel to it, all thoſe who have been in Hoy, one of the Orkneys, do affirm (without citing, or many of them knowing this paſſage of HERODOTUS) that there lies on a barren heath in this Iland an oblong ſtone, in a valley between two moderate hills; call'd I ſuppoſe antiphraſtically, or by way of contraries, the DWARFY-STONE. It is 36 foot long, 18 foot broad, and 9 foot high. No other ſtones are near it. 'Tis all hollow'd within, or (as we may ſay) ſcoop'd by human art and induſtry, having a door on the eaſt ſide 2 foot ſquare; with a ſtone of the ſame dimenſion lying about two foot from it, which was intended no doubt to cloſe this entrance. Within there is, at the ſouth end of it, cut out the form of a bed and pillow, capable to hold two perſons: as, at the north end, there is another bed, Dr. WALLACE ſays a couch, both very neatly done. Above, at an equal diſtance from both, is a large round hole: which is ſuppos'd, not onely to have been deſign'd for letting in of light and air, when the door was ſhut; but likewiſe for letting out of ſmoke from the fire, for which there is a place made in the middle between the two beds. The marks of the workman's tool appear every where; and the tradition of the vulgar is, that a Giant and his wife had this ſtone for their habitation: tho the door alone deſtroys this fancy, which is wholly groundleſs every way beſides. Dr. WALLACE thinks it might be the reſidence of a Hermit, but it appears this Hermit did not deſign to ly always by himſelf. Juſt by it is a clear and pleaſant ſpring, for the uſe of the inhabitant. I wiſh it were in Surrey, that I might make it a ſummer ſtudy. As to the original deſign of this monument, men are by nature curious enough to know the cauſes of things, but they are not patient enough in their ſearch: and ſo

will rather aſſign any cauſe, tho ever ſo abſurd; than ſuſpend their judgements, till they diſcover the true cauſe, which yet in this particular I am reſolv'd to do.

XXI. NOW, My Lord, imagine what you pleaſe about the religious or civil uſe of this ſtone, my difficulty to your Lordſhip is; how they were able to accompliſh this piece of Architecture, among the reſt that I have mention'd, in thoſe remote, barren, and uncultivated Ilands? And how ſuch prodigious Obeliſcs cou'd be erected there, no leſs than in the other parts of Britain, and in Ireland? for which we have ſcarce any ſufficient machines, in this time of Learning and Politeneſs. Theſe monuments of every kind, eſpecially the Forts and the Obeliſcs, induc'd Hector Boethius to tell ſtrange ſtories of the Egyptians having been there in the reign of Mainus King of Scotland: nor do they a little confirm the notion, which ſome both of the Iriſh and Albanian Scots have about their Egyptian, inſtead of a Scythian, or (as I ſhall evince) a Celtic original; tho I aſſign more immediately a Brittiſh for the Iriſh, and an Iriſh extraction for the Scots. Nor is there any thing more ridiculous than what they relate of their Egyptian ſtock; except what the Britons fable about their Trojan anceſtors. Yet a reaſon there is, why they harp ſo much upon Egyptians and Spaniards: but altogether miſunderſtood or unobſerv'd by writers. But, not to forget our

Monuments, you will not ſay (what, tho poſſible, appears improbable) that, according to the ceaſleſs viciſſitude of things, there was a time, when the inhabitahts of theſe Ilands were as learned and knowing, as the preſent Egyptians and the Highlanders are ignorant. But ſay what you will, it cannot fail diffuſing light on the ſubject; and to improve, if not intirely to ſatisfy, the Inquirer. The Ile of MAN, as I ſaid above, does no leſs abound in theſe Monuments of all ſorts, than any of the places we have nam'd; and therefore ſure to be viſited, and all its ancient remains to be examin'd, by,

My Lord,

July 1.
1718.

Your Lordſhip's moſt
oblig'd and very
humble Servant,

THE
THIRD LETTER:
TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD
VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

I. I TAKE the Liberty (MY LORD) to troble you a third time with the company of the DRUIDS; who, like other Prieſts, reſort always to the place where the beſt intertainment is to be found: and yet I muſt needs own, it derogates much from the merit of their viſit; that, in the quality of Philoſophers they know not where to find a heartier welcom than in your Lordſhip's ſtudy. Tho I have very particularly explain'd the plan of my *Hiſtory of the Druids*, in the two laſt Letters I did my ſelf the honor to ſend you on this ſubject; yet the work being conſiderably large, and containing great variety of matter, I have ſtill ſomthing to impart, in order to give the clearer idea of my deſign. And it is, that, beſides the citations of authors, indiſpenſably requiſite in proving matters of fact newly advanc'd, or in deciding of antient doubts and controverſies (not to ſpeak of ſuch as come in by way of ornament, or that a writer modeſtly prefers to his own expreſſions) I have ſomtimes occaſion to touch upon paſſages, which, tho I cou'd eaſily abridge, or needed but barely hint with relation to the purpoſe for which I produce them: yet being in themſelves either very curious and inſtructive, or lying in books that come into few people's hands, I chuſe to give them in my *Hiſtory* intire. This method I have learnt from my beſt maſters among the antients, who practis'd it with much ſucceſs; tho, like them, I uſe it very ſparingly. One or two inſtances you'll not be ſorry to ſee. The explication I have given, in the 11th ſection of my firſt Letter, of OGMIUS, the antient Gallic name of HERCULES, I am no leſs certain you do not forget, than that you remember I promis'd to take an opportunity of ſending you the whole piece; which I have thus tranſlated from the original Greec, with the utmoſt accuracy. *The Gauls*, ſays

(1) LUCIAN, *call* HERCULES *in their country language* OGMIUS. *But they repreſent the picture of this God in a very unuſual manner. With them he is a decrepit old man, bald before, his beard extremely gray, as are the few other hairs he has remaining. His skin is wrinkl'd, ſunburnt, and of ſuch a ſwarthy hue as that of old mariners : ſo that you wou'd take him to be* CHARON, *or ſome* IAPETUS *from the nethermoſt hell, or any thing rather than* HERCULES. *But tho he be ſuch thus far, yet he has withall the Habit of* HERCULES; *being clad in the skin of a Lion, holding a Club in his right hand, a Quiver hanging from his ſhoulders, and a bent Bow in his left hand. Upon the whole it is* HERCULES. *I was of opinion that all theſe things were perverſely done, in diſhonor of the Grecian Gods, by the Gauls to the picture of* HERCULES: *revenging themſelves upon him by ſuch a repreſentation, for having formerly over-run their country, and driving a Prey out of it; as he was ſeeking after the herd of* GERYON, *at which time he made incurſions into moſt of the weſtern nations. But I have not yet told, what is moſt odd and ſtrange in this picture; for this old* HERCULES *draws after him a vaſt multitude of men, all ty'd by their Ears. The cords by which he does this are ſmall fine Chains, artificially*

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(1) Τον Ἡρακλεα ὁι Κελτοι ΟΓΜΙΟΝ ονομαζουσι φωνῃ τῃ επιχωριῳ, et quae ſequuntur in HERCULE *Gallico*: Graeca etenim longiora ſunt, quàm ut hîc commodè inſeri poſſint.

made of gold and electrum, like to moſt beautiful bracelets. And tho the men are drawn by ſuch ſlender bonds, yet none of 'em thinks of breaking looſe, when they might eaſily do it; neither do they ſtrive in the leaſt to the contrary, or ſtruggle with their feet, leaning back with all their might againſt their Leader: but they gladly and cheerfully follow, praiſing him that draws them; all ſeeming in haſte, and deſirous to get before each other, holding up the chains, as if they ſhould be very ſorry to be ſet free. Nor will I grudge telling here, what of all theſe matters appear'd the moſt abſurd to me. The Painter finding no place where to fix the extreme links of the Chains, the right hand being occupy'd with a Club, and the left with a Bow, he made a hole in the tip of the God's tongue, (who turns ſmiling towards thoſe he leads) and painted them as drawn from thence. I look'd upon theſe things a great while, ſometimes admiring, ſometimes doubting, and ſometimes chaſing with indignation. But a certain Gaul who ſtood by, not ignorant of our affairs, as he ſhow'd by ſpeaking Greec in perfection (being one of the Philoſophers, I ſuppoſe, of that nation) ſaid, I'll explain to you, O ſtranger, the enigma of this picture, for it ſeems not a little to diſturb you. We Gauls do not ſuppoſe, as you Greecs, that MERCURY *is* SPEECH *or Eloquence; but we attribute it to* HERCULES, *becauſe he's far ſuperior in ſtrength to* MECURY. *Don't wonder, that he's repre-*

ſented as an old man: for SPEECH *alone loves to ſhow its utmoſt vigor in old age, if your own Poets ſpeak true.*

All young men's breaſts are with thick darkneſs fill'd:
But age experienc'd has much more to ſay,
More wiſe and learned, than rude untaught youth.

Thus, among your ſelves, hony drops from NESTOR's *tongue; and the Trojan Orators emit a certain voice call'd* Lirioeſſa, *that is,* a florid ſpeech; *for, if I remember right,* flowers *are call'd* Liria. *Now that* HERCULES, *or* SPEECH, *ſhou'd draw men after him ty'd by their Ears to his Tongue, will be no cauſe of admiration to you; when you conſider the near affinity of the Tongue with the Ears. Nor is his Tongue contumeliouſly bor'd: for I remember, ſaid he, to have learnt certain Iambics out of your own Comedians, one of which ſays,*

The tips of all Prater's tongues are bor'd.

And finally, as for us, we are of opinion, that HERCULES *accompliſh'd all his atchievments by* SPEECH; *and, that having been a wiſe man, he conquer'd moſtly by perſuaſion: we think his arrows were keen Reaſons, eaſily ſhot, quick, and penetrating the ſouls of men; whence you have, among you, the expreſſion of* *of wing'd words. Hitherto ſpoke the Gaul.* From this ingenious picture LUCIAN draws to himſelf an argument of Conſolation: that the ſtudy and profeſſion of Eloquence was not unbecoming him in his old age, being rather more fit than ever to teach the *Belles Lettres*; when his ſtock of knowlege was moſt complete, as his Speech was more copious, poliſh'd, and mature, than formerly.

II. AS my firſt inſtance is furniſh'd by a man, who, for his Eloquence and love of Liberty (qualities no leſs conſpicuous in your Lordſhip) deſerv'd to have his memory conſecrated to Immortality, which was all that the wiſeſt of the ancients underſtood by making any one a God; ſo my ſecond inſtance ſhall be taken from a woman, whoſe frailty and perfidiouſneſs will ſerve as a foil to thoſe learned Druideſſes, and other illuſtrious Heroines, which I frequently mention in my *Hiſtory*. I introduce her in a paſſage I have occaſion to allege, when I am proving, that wherever the Gauls or Britons are in any old author ſimply ſaid to offer ſacrifice (without any further circumſtances added) this nevertheleſs is underſtood to be done by the miniſtry of the Druids; it having been as unlawful for any of the Celtic nations to ſacrifice otherwiſe, as it was for the Jews to do ſo without their Prieſts and Levites. *The Druids*, ſays (2) JULIUS CAE-

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(2) Illi rebus divinis interſunt, ſacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 6. cap.* 12.

SAR, *perform divine ſervice, they offer the public and private ſacrifices, they interpret religious obſervances:* and even when particular perſons wou'd propitiate the Gods, for the continuing or reſtoring of their Health; *they make uſe of the Druids*, adds he (3), *to offer thoſe ſacrifices. 'Tis the eſtabliſh'd cuſtom of the Gauls*, ſays (4) DIODORUS SICULUS, *to offer no ſacrifice without a Philoſopher*, which is to ſay, a Druid: and STRABO ſo expreſſes it, affirming, that (5) *they never ſacrifice without the Druids.* This unanſwerable proof being premis'd, now follows one of the paſſages, wherein a Gaul being ſaid ſimply to ſacrifiee, I think fit to relate the whole ſtory. 'Tis the eigth of PARTHENIUS *of Nicea's Love-ſtories*, related before him (as he ſays) in the firſt book of the *Hiſtory* written by ARISTODEMUS *of Nyſa*, now loſt. This PARTHENIUS addreſſes his book to CORNELIUS GALLUS, for whoſe uſe he wrote it, being the ſame to whom VIRGIL inſcrib'd his tenth *Eclog*. The ſtory runs thus. *When* (6) *the Gauls had made an incurſion into Ionia, and ſack'd moſt of the cities, the Theſmophorian feſtival was celebrated at Miletus; which occaſioning all the women to aſſemble together*

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(3) Adminiſtriſque ad ea ſacrificia Druidibus utuntur. *Ibid.*

(4) Εθος δ'αυτοις εςι, μηδενα θυσιαν ποιειν ανευ φιλοσοφου. *Lib.* 5. *pag.* 308. *Edit. Hanov.*

(5) Εθυον δε ουκ ανευ Δρυιδων. *Lib.* 4. *pag.* 303. *Edit. Amſtel.*

(6) Ὁτε δε οἱ Γαλαται καταδραμον την Ιωνιαν, et quae ſequuntur.

in the Temple, that was not far from the city: part of the Barbarian army, which ſeparated from the reſt, made an irruption into the Mileſian territory, and ſeiz'd upon thoſe women; whom the Mileſians were forc'd to ranſom, giving in exchange a great ſum of gold and ſilver. Yet the Barbarians took ſome of them away for domeſtic uſe, among whom was ERIPPE (7) *the wife of* XANTHUS (*a man of the firſt rank and birth in Miletus*) *leaving behind her a boy onely two years olde. Now* XANTHUS *paſſionately loving his wife, turn'd part of his ſubſtance into money, and having amaſs'd a thouſand pieces of gold, he croſs'd over with the ſooneſt into Italy; whence being guided by ſome whom he had intertain'd in Greece, he came to Marſeilles, and ſo into Gaule. Then he went to the houſe where his wife was, belonging to a man of the greateſt authority among the Gauls, and intreated to be lodg'd there: whereupon thoſe of the family, according to that nation's uſual Hoſpitality, cheerfully receiving him, he went in and ſaw his wife; who running to him with open arms, very lovingly led him to his apartment.* CAVARA (8) *the Gaul, who had been abroad, returning ſoon after,* ERIPPE *acquainted him with the arrival of her Husband; and that it was for her ſake he came, bring-*

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(7) ARISTODEMUS calls her GYTHIMIA.

(8) So he's nam'd by ARISTODEMUS: and it is to this day a common name in Ireland. *Vid. Act for attainting* SHANE O NEIL.

ing with him the price of her redemption. The Gaul extoll'd the generoſity of XANTHUS, *and ſtrait inviting ſeveral of his own friends and neareſt relations, hoſpitably treated him; making a feaſt on purpoſe, and placing his wife by his ſide: then asking him by an interpreter what his whole eſtate was worth, and* XANTHUS *anſwering a thouſand pieces of gold; the Barbarian order'd him to divide that ſum into four parts, whereof he ſhould take back three, one for himſelf, one for his wife, and one for his little ſon, but that he ſhou'd leave him the fourth for his wife's ranſom. When they went to bed, his wife heavily chid* XANTHUS, *as not having ſo great a ſum of gold to pay the Barbarian; and that he was in danger, if he could not fulfill his promiſe. He told her, that he had yet a thouſand pieces more hid in the ſhoos of his ſervants; for that he did not expect to find any Barbarian ſo equitable, believing her ranſom wou'd have coſt him much more. Next day the wife inform'd the Gaul what a great ſum of gold there was, and bids him kill* XANTHUS; *aſſuring him, that ſhe lov'd him better than her country or her child, and that ſhe mortally hated* XANTHUS. CAVARA *took no delight in this declaration, and reſolv'd in his own mind from that moment to puniſh her. Now when* XANTHUS *was in haſte to depart, the Gaul very kindly permitted it, going with him part of the way, and leading* ERIPPE. *When the Barbarian had ac-*

accompany'd them as far as the mountains of Gaule, he ſaid, that, before they parted, he was minded to offer a ſacrifice; and having adorn'd the victim, he deſir'd Eripfe *to lay hold of it: which ſhe doing, as at other times ſhe was accuſtom'd, he brandiſh'd his ſword at her, ran her thro, and cut off her head; but pray'd* Xanthus *not to be at all concern'd, diſcovering her treachery to him, and permitting him to take away all his Gold.* 'Tis no more hence to be concluded, becauſe no Druid is mention'd, that Cavara offer'd this ſacrifice without the miniſtry of one or more ſuch (unleſs he was of their number himſelf, which is not improbable) than that a man of his quality was attended by no ſervants, becauſe they are not ſpecially mention'd; for ordinary, as well as neceſſary circumſtances, are ever ſuppos'd by good writers, where there is not ſome peculiar occaſion of inſerting them.

III. IN my third inſtance I return again to Hercules, of whom a ſtory is told in the ſame book, whence we had the laſt; which, tho related and recommended by the author as a good argument for a Poem, affords however no ſmall illuſtration, to what I maintain by much more poſitive proofs, *viz.* that *Great Britain was denominated from the province of Britain in Gaule, and that from Gaule the original inhabitants of all the Brittiſh Ilands (I mean thoſe of* Cesar's *time) are deſcended.*

ſcended. Liſten for a moment to PARTHENIUS. *'Tis* (9) *ſaid that* HERCULES, *as he drove away from* (10) *Erythia the oxen of* GERYON, *had penetrated into the region of the Gauls, and that he came as far as* BRETANNUS, *who had a daughter call'd* CELTINA. *This young woman falling in love with* HERCULES, *hid his oxen; and wou'd not reſtore them, till he ſhou'd injoy her firſt. Now* HERCULES *being deſirous to recover his oxen, and much more admiring the beauty of the maid, he lay with her; and in due time was born to them a ſon nam'd* CELTUS (11), *from whom the Celts are ſo denominated.* Many of the antient writers mention the incurſion of HERCULES into Gaule, when he made war againſt GERYON in Spain; which the judicious DIODORUS SICULUS ſhows to have been at the head of a powerful Army, not with his bare Club and Bow, as the Poets feign; and that it was he who built the fortreſs of Alexia, whereof the Siege, many ages after by JULIUS CESAR, became ſo famous. DIODORUS likewiſe tells this very ſtory of PARTHENIUS, but without naming BRETANNUS or CELTINA.

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(9) *Λεγεται δε και Ἡρακλεα, ὅτε απ'* Ερυθειας τας Γηρυονου βους ηγαγεν, ἀλωμενον δια της Κελτων χωρας, αφικεσθαι παρα Βρεταννον: τῷ δε αρα ὑπαρχειν θυγατερα, Κελτινην ονομα: ταυτην δε, ερασθεισαν του Ἡρακλεους, κατακρυψαι τας βους; μη θελειν τε αποδουναι, ει μη προτερον αυτῃ μιχθηναι: τον δε Ηρακλεα, το μεν τοι και τας βους επειγομενον ανασωσασθαι; πολυ μαλλον το καλλος εκπλαγεντα της κορης, συγγενεσθαι αυτῃ: και αυτοις, χρονου περιηκοντος, γενεσθαι παιδα Κελτον, αφ' ὁυ δε Κελτοι προσηγορευθησαν. *Cap.* 30.

(10) Now *Cadiz.*

(11) GALLUS, GALLI.

He onely ſays (12), “a certain illuſtrious man, “that govern’d a Province in Gaule, had a “daughter exceeding the reſt of her ſex, in “ſtature and beauty: who, tho deſpiſing all “that made court to her, being of a very high “ſpirit; yet fell in love with HERCULES, “whoſe courage and majeſtic perſon ſhe great“ly admir’d. With her parent’s conſent ſhe “came to a right underſtanding with this hero, “who begot on her a ſon, not unworthy the “pair from whom he ſprung, either in body “or mind. He was call’d GALATES (13), ſuc“ceeded his grandfather in the government; “and, becoming renown’d for his valor, his “ſubjects were call’d *Galatians* (14) after his “name, as the whole country it ſelf *Galatia* “(15).” This is plainly the ſame ſtory, onely that one writer ſupplies us with the names, which the other omits; and Armorican Britain being probably the Province, wherein BRETANNUS rul’d (ſince we find it inſinuated, that HERCULES had penetrated far to come to him) ’tis ſtill more than probable, that it was denominated from him: as I ſhall prove beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, that our Britain had its name from that of Gaule, as

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(12) Της Κελτικης τοινυν το παλαιον, ὡς Φασιν, εδυναστευσεν επιφανες ανηρ, ᾧ θυγατερ εγενετο &c. —μιχθεισα δε τῳ Ἡρακλει εγεννησεν ὑιον ονομα Γαλατην—περιβοητος δε γενομενος επ’ ανδρειᾳ, τους ὑπ’ αυτον τεταγμενους ωνομαζεν αφ’ εαυτου Γαλατας, αφ’ ὡν ἡ συμπασα Γαλατια προσηγορευθη. *Lib.* 4. *pag.* 303.

(13) GALLUS.

(14) *Galli.*

(15) *Gallia.*

New England has from the Old. HESYCHIUS, in the word BRETANNUS, is of the ſame opinion with me. So is DIONYSIUS (16) PERIEGETES, with his Commentator (17) EUSTATHIUS: and I am not a little countenanc'd by PLINY the elder, who places (18) Britons on the maritim coaſts of Gaule over againſt Great Britain. But I have more evidence ſtill. To ſay nothing at preſent of CESAR ſo many ages before EUSTATHIUS, TACITUS likewiſe among the (19) antients, BEDA among thoſe of the middle (20) ages, and ſome of the moſt celebrated modern writers, are as expreſs as words can poſſibly make any thing, that Britain was peopled from Gaule. Nor is the epithet of *Great*, added to our *Britain*, any more an objection to this aſſertion; than the coaſt of Italy, formerly call'd *Magna Graecia*, cou'd be made the mother country of Greece, when the cities of that coaſt were all Colonies from thence: beſides that *Great Britain* was antiently ſo call'd with reſpect to *Ireland*, which (before the fable of the Welſh colony in Gaule was invented) is call'd *Little Britain*, as you'll ſee anon. Theſe diſquiſitions come not into *the Hiſtory of the Druids*, but into the annext *Diſſertation concerning the Celtic Language and Colonies.* There you'll ſee the folly of deriving *Britain* from the fabulous Iriſh Hero BRIOTAN, or from the no leſs imaginary BRUTUS the Trojan; nor is the word originally PRIDCAIN, *Prytania*, *Bridania*, or deſcended from either Phenician, or Scandinavian, or Dutch, or even any Brittiſh words. The inſular Britons, like other Colonies, were long govern'd by thoſe on the continent; and by the neigboring Provinces, who join'd in making ſettlements here. It was ſo even as low down as a little before JULIUS CESAR's conqueſt; in whoſe (21) *Commentaries* it is recorded, that *thoſe of Soiſſons had within their memory* (ſay the ambaſſadors of Rheims to him) DIVITIACUS (22) *for their King, the moſt potent Prince of all Gaule: who ſway'd the ſcepter, not onely of a great part of thoſe regions, but alſo of Britain.* In the ſame *Diſſertation*, after exploding the

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(16) ——————— Ενθα Βρετανοι,
Λευκα τε Φυλα νεμονται αρειμανεων Γερμανων.
Ver. 284.

(17) *Των δε Βρεττανων ταυτων παρωνυμοι, ἁι αντιπεραν Βρεττανιδες νησοι.*

(18) A Scaldi incolunt extera Toxandri pluribus nominibus: deinde Menapij, Morini, Oromanſaci juncti Pago qui Geſſoriacus vocatur: * BRITANNI, Ambiani, Bellovaci, Haſſi. *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* 4. *cap.* 17.

(19) In univerſum tamen aeſtimanti, Gallos vicinum ſolum occupaſſe credibile eſt: eorum ſacra deprehendas, ſuperſtitionum perſuaſione: Sermo haud multum diverſus, &c. *Vit. Agric. cap.* 11.

(20) Haec Inſula Britones ſolùm, a quibus nomen accepit, incolas habuit; qui de tractu Armoricano, ut fertur, Britanniam advecti, auſtrales ſibi partes illius vindicârunt. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

* In quibuſdam exemplaribus, ſed perperam, *Brianni.*

(21) Sueſſones eſſe ſuos finitimos, latiſſimos feraciſſimoſque agros poſſidere: apud eos fuiſſe Regem noſtrâ etiam memoriâ Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentiſſimum; qui, cùm magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit. *De Bello Gallico, lib. 2. cap. 4.*

(22) Different from DIVITIACUS the Eduan or Burgundian.

Welſh fable about Britain in France, you'll read as poſitive proofs, that the ancient Iriſh, not one of their Colonies excepted (the Nemetes, the Firbolgs, the Danannans, and the Mileſians) were all from Gaule and Great Britain; whoſe language, religion, cuſtoms, laws and government, proper names of men and places, they conſtantly did and do ſtill uſe: whereas (to forbear at preſent all other arguments) not one ſingle word of the Iriſh tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biſcaian, which is the true old Spaniſh; the preſent idiom being a mixture of Latin, Gothic, and Arabic. Beſides this, all the antients knew and held the Iriſh to be Britons, as Ireland it ſelf is by PTOLOMY call'd (23) *Little Britain.* They were reckon'd Britons by ARISTOTLE, who in his book *de Mundo,* calls the country (24) *Ierne*; as ORPHEUS before him (25) *Iernis,* if ONOMACRITUS be not the author of the *Argonautica,* or rather, as SUIDAS aſſerts, ORPHEUS of Crotona, contemporary with the Tyrant PISISTRATUS. And if this be true, Archbiſhop USHER did not Gaſconnade, when he (26) ſaid, that the *Roman* people cou'd not any where be found ſo antiently mention'd as *Iernis.* DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, before cited, is of the ſame opinion in his *deſcription of the* (27) *world*, that the Iriſh were Britons: as STEPHANUS *Byzantius* names it (28) *Brittiſh Juvernia, the leaſt of the two Ilands.* DIODORUS SICULUS mentions (29) *the Britons inhabiting the Iland call'd Iris*, a name better expreſſing *Ere* (vulgarly *Erinn*) the right name of Ireland, than *Ierne*, *Juverna*, *Hibernia*, or any name that has been either poetically or otherwiſe us'd. STRABO ſtiles Ireland (30) *Brittiſh Ierna*, as his antient Abridger calls the Iriſh (31), *the Britons inhabiting Ierna*: and, if we may intermix ludicrous with ſerious things, where 'tis now read in the ſame STRABO, that the Iriſh were *great eaters* (32) his ſaid Abridger reads it *herb-eaters* (33); which wou'd induce one to believe, that ſo long ago *Shamrogs* were in as great requeſt there as at preſent. PLINY ſays in expreſs words (34), that *every one of the Brittiſh Ilands was call'd Britain; wheras Albion was the diſtinguiſhing name of the Britain now peculiarly ſo call'd, and ſo famous*

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(23) Μικρα Βρεττανια, in Almageſt. lib. 2. cap. 6.

(24) Εν τουτῳ γε μεν [οκεανῳ] νησοι μεγισται τε τυγχανουσιν ουσαι δυο, Βρετανικαι λεγομεναι, Αλβιον και Ιερνη. *Cap.* 3.

(25) Αγκαιος δ' οιοκας επισταμενως ετιταινε,
Παρ δ'αρα νησον αμειβεν Ιερνιδα—— Ver. 1240.

(26) *Primord. Eccleſ. Britannicar. pag.* 724.

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(27) Δισσαι νησοι εασι Βρεττανιδες αντια Ρηνου. *Ver.* 566.

(28) Ιουερνια ἡ Πρεταννικη, των δυο ελασσων.

(29) ——— Ὡσπερ και των Βρετανων, τους κατοικουντας την ονομαζομενην Ιριν. *Lib.* 5. *pag.* 309.

(30) Ὁι την Βρετανικην Ιερνην ιδοντες, &c. *Lib.* 1. *pag.* 110.

(31) Ὁι την Ιερνην νησον κατοικουντες Βρετανοι. *Lib.* 3.

(32) Πολυφαγοι.

(33) Ποηφαγοι.

(34) Britannia clara Graecis noſtriſque ſcriptoribus—— Albion ipſi nomen fuit, cùm Britanniae vocarentur omnes Inſulae nempe Britannicae.] *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* 4. *cap.* 16.

in the Greec and Roman writings. Theſe particulars (I repeat it) much below the dignity of our *Hiſtory*, will be found in the before-mention'd *Diſſertation*; which, tho infinitely leſs uſeful, I dare propheſy will be full as much read, if not much more reliſh'd. The greateſt men however have not thought it unbecoming them, to ſearch at their leiſure into ſuch Originals: and I, for my part, found it almoſt a neceſſary imployment, conſidering the light it adds to my principal work.

IV. TO return thither therefore, there are diverſe paſſages, ſome longer ſome ſhorter, in the moſt antient Greec authors we have, or copy'd by theſe from ſuch as are quite loſt; which, tho generally neglected and unobſerv'd, will be no ſmall ornament to the *Hiſtory* I have taken in hand. And, to ſay it here by the way, 'tis certain that the more antient Greec writers, ſuch as Hecateus, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius (not to ſpeak of Dicearchus and others) knew a great deal of truth concerning the Brittiſh Ilands: by reaſon of the frequent navigations of the Greecs into theſe parts, after the way was ſhown them by the Phenicians; ſo antient an author as Herodotus affirming, that his countrymen had their Tin from (35) hence, tho he cou'd give little account of the

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(35) —Ουτε νησους οιδα Κασσιτεριδας εουσας, εκ των ὁ κασσιτερος ἡμιν φοιτα. *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 115.

Iland. But this commerce being interrupted for ſeveral ages afterwards, the later writers did not onely themſelves vend abundance of fables about theſe northern parts of the world; but treat as fabulous, what their Predeceſſors had recorded with no leſs honeſty than exactneſs. Of this I ſhall have occaſion to give ſome convincing proofs in this very Letter. But not to forget the paſſages of the antients, when you call to mind thoſe *Rocking-ſtones* ſet up by the Druids, deſcrib'd in the xivth and xvith Section of our ſecond *Letter*, and whereof ſeveral are yet ſtanding; you'll not doubt but 'tis one of them, that is mention'd in the Abridgement we have of PTOLOMY HEPHESTION'S *Hiſtory:* who, in the third chapter of the third book, is ſaid *to have written about the* (36) GIGONIAN STONE *ſtanding near the ocean; which is mov'd with ſuch a ſmall matter as the ſtalk of aſphodel, tho immoveable againſt the greateſt force imaginable.* This paſſage needs, in my opinion, no comment. But we are to note, when thoſe old writers talk of any thing near the Ocean with reſpect to the ſtraights of HERCULES (37), and without ſpecifying the place; that it may then be on the coaſt of Spain, or of France, in the Brittiſh Ilands, or on any of the northern ſhores. It is onely to be diſcover'd either by matter of fact, or by probable circumſtances: as this *Gigonian ſtone* (for example) was neceſſarily in ſome of the Celtic or Brittiſh territories, whoſe Druids alone ſet up ſuch ſtones. So were the Birds, whereof I am now going to ſpeak. *What* ARTEMIDORUS *has deliver'd concerning the Ravens* (ſays (38) STRABO) *ſounds very much like a fable. He tells us, that there is a certain lake near the Ocean, which is call'd the lake of the two ravens, becauſe two ravens appear in it, which have ſome white in their wing: that ſuch as have any controverſy together come thither to an elevated place, where they ſet a table, each laying on a cake ſeparately for himſelf: and that thoſe birds flying thither, eat the one while they ſcatter the other about; ſo that he, whoſe cake is thus ſcatter'd, gets the better of the diſpute. Such fables does he relate!* But I wou'd ask STRABO, what is there fabulous in all this? or why ſhou'd the rude Gauls and Britons being influenc'd by the eating or not eating of ravens, be thought more ſtrange or fabulous, than the *tripudium ſoliſtimum* of chickens among the polite Romans? which CASAUBON, I will not ſay how truely, thinks was deriv'd from theſe very (39) ravens. If STRABO had ſaid, that the Divination it ſelf was ſuperſtitious and vain, or that it was ridiculous to imagin the ravens cou'd diſcern the cake of the guilty from that of the innocent (tho they might greedily eat one of them when hungry, and wantonly ſport with the other when their bellies were full) no man of judgement wou'd contradict him. As for ravens having ſome white in their wings, it contains nothing fabulous, I my ſelf having ſeen ſuch, and no Ornithologiſts omitting them. I will own indeed, that ſo uncommon a thing as white in the wing of a raven, and for a couple of them to hold a place ſo cunningly to themſelves, was enough to work upon the ſuperſtitious fancies of ignorant people, who laid ſuch ſtreſs above all nations upon Augury; ſo that in this whole ſtory of the two ravens, nothing appears to me either fabulous or wonderful. Nay I am perſuaded ARTEMIDORUS was in the right, there being examples at this time of ravens thus ſecuring a place to themſelves; and the firſt I ſhall give is, for ought any body knows, the very place hinted by ARTEMIDORUS. Dr. MARTIN, in his *Deſcription of the Iles of Scotland*, diſcourſing of Bernera (which is five miles in circumference, and lyes about two leagues to the ſouth of Harries) *in this Iland*, ſays (40) he, *there's a couple*

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(36) Περι της περι τον Ωκεανον Γιγωνιας πετρας, και ὁτι μονῳ ασφοδελῳ κινειται, προς πασαν βιαν αμετακινητος ουσα.

(37) Now of *Gibraltar.*

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(38) Τουτο δ' ετι μυθοδεστερον ειρηκεν Αρτεμιδωρος, το περι τους Κορακας συμβαινον. Λιμενα γαρ τινα της παρωκεανιτιδος ἱστορει δυο κορακων επονομαζομενον; φαινεσθαι δ' εν τουτῳ δυο κορακας, την δεξιαν πτερυγα παραλευκον εχοντας; τους ουν περι τινων αμφισβητουντας, αφικομενους δευρο εφ' ὑψηλου τοπου, σανιδα θεντας, επιβαλλειν ψαιστα, εκατερον χωρις: τους δ' ορνεις εφιπταντας τα μεν εσθιειν, τα δε σκορπιζειν; ου δ' αν σκορπισθῃ τα ψαιστα, εκεινον νικᾳν. Ταυτα μεν ουν μυθωδεστερα λεγει. *Lib.* 4. *pag.* 303.

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(39) In Annotatione ad hunc STRABONIS locum.
(40) Page 47.

of ravens, which beat away all ravenous fowls: and when their young are able to fly abroad, they beat them alſo out of the Iland, but not without many blows and a great noiſe. In this Iland moreover, to remark a further agreement with ARTEMIDORUS, there's a freſh-water lake call'd Loch-bruiſt, where many land and ſea-fowl build. He tells us (41) elſewhere of another ſuch couple, which are of the ſame inhoſpitable, or rather cautious and frugal diſpoſition, in a little Iland near North-Uiſt; and ſtill of ſuch another couple (42), in all reſpects, upon the Ile of Troda near Sky. But as Eagles were no leſs birds of Augury than ravens, the Doctor, in his account of a little Iland near the greater one of Lewis (43), ſays that he ſaw a couple of eagles there; which, as the natives aſſur'd him, wou'd never ſuffer any other of their kind to continue in the Iland: driving away their own young ones, as ſoon as they are able to fly. The natives told him further, that thoſe eagles are ſo careful of the place of their abode, that they never kill'd any ſheep or lamb in the Iland; tho the bones of lambs, fawns, and wild-fowl, are frequently found in and about their neſts: ſo that they make their purchaſe in the oppoſite Ilands, the neareſt of which is a league diſtant. There's ſuch another couple of eagles, and as tender of injuring their native country, on the north end of St. Kilda (44) which Ilands may be view'd in the map of Scotland. I muſt obſerve on this occaſion, that there's no part of our education ſo difficult to be eradicated as SUPERSTITION; which is induſtriouſly inſtill'd into men from their cradles by their nurſes, by their parents, by the very ſervants, by all that converſe with them, by their tutors and ſchool-maſters, by the poets, orators, and hiſtorians which they read: but more particularly by the Prieſts, who in moſt parts of the world are hir'd to keep the people in error, being commonly back'd by the example and authority of the Magiſtrate. Augury was formerly one of the moſt univerſal Superſtitions, equally practis'd by the Greecs and the Barbarians; certain Prieſts in all nations, pretending, tho by very contrary rites and obſervations, to interpret the language, the flight, and feeding of birds: as ENEAS thus addreſſes HELEN the Prieſt of (45) APOLLO,

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(41) Page 60.
(42) Page 166.
(43) Page 26.

Trojugena, interpres Divum, qui numina PHOEBI,
Qui tripodas, CLARII *lauros, qui ſidera ſentis,*
Et volucrum linguas, et praepetis omina pennae,
Fare age.

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(44) Page 299.
(45) Virg. Aen. lib. 3.

Now to comprehend what deep root Superſtition takes, and how the ſap keeps alive in the ſtump, ready to ſprout forth again, after the trunk and branches have for many ages been cut off; I beg your patience to hear the following ſtory, eſpecially ſince we are upon the ſubject of ravens. When I was in Dublin in the year 1697, I walk'd out one day to the village of Finglaſs, and overtook upon the way two gentlemen of the old Iriſh ſtock, with whom I had contracted ſome acquaintance at the Coffee-houſe. They told me they were going a good way further, about a buſineſs of ſome importance; and not many minutes after one of 'em cry'd out with joy to the other, ſee couſin, by heaven matters will go well: pointing at the ſame inſtant to a raven feeding and hopping hard by, which had a white feather or two in the wing that was towards us. The other appear'd no leſs tranſported, nor would they ſtir till they ſaw what way the raven flew; which being to the ſouth of them, and with a great noiſe, they were fully confirm'd about the ſucceſs of their buſineſs. This brought to my remembrance that oblative Augury in (46) VIRGIL:

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(46) ———— Geminae cùm forte Columbae
Ipſa ſub ora viri coelo venêre volantes,
Et viridi ſedêre ſolo——veſtigia preſſit,
Obſervans quae ſigna ferant, quo tendere pergant.

Aeneid. lib. 6. ver. 190.

Scarce had he ſaid, when full before his ſight
Two doves, deſcending from their airy flight,
Secure upon the graſſy plain alight——
————With watchful ſight
Obſerving ſtill the motions of their flight,
What courſe they took, what happy ſigns they ſhew;
They fled, and, flutt'ring by degrees, withdrew—— &c.

Dryden's *Tranſlat.*

Nor was I unmindful, you may be ſure, of that paſſage in (47) Plautus,

'Tis not for nought, that the Raven ſings now on my left;
And, croaking, has once ſcrap'd the earth with his feet.

Upon my putting ſome queſtions to thoſe gentlemen, they ſaid it was certain by the obſervation of all ages, that a raven having any white in its wings, and flying on the right hand of any perſon, croaking at the ſame time, was an infallible preſage of good luck. I us'd a great many arguments to ſhow them the vanity and unreaſonableneſs of this piece of Superſtition, comparing it among other extravagancies, to the no leſs abſurd one of dreams; where if one happens by chance to come to paſs, while ten thouſand fail, theſe are forgot and the other remember'd. But I am perſuaded all I did or cou'd ſay, even my argument *ad hominem*, in proving that Augury was ſpecially forbid by the Law of MOSES, wou'd have made little impreſſion on them; had it not been that they miſcarry'd in what they went about, as one of them candidly own'd to me ſome weeks afterwards, who cou'd then liſten to my reaſons, and ſeem'd to taſte them. Thus far have I been led by the ravens of ARTEMIDORUS. But I have not rambl'd yet ſo far after birds as the old Gauls, *whereof a part* (to uſe the words of (48) JUSTIN after TROGUS) *ſettled in Italy, which took and burnt the city of Rome; while another part of them penetrated into the Illyric bays, by the ſlaughter of the Barbarians, and under the guidance of birds,* (FOR THE GAULS EXCELL ALL OTHERS IN THE SKILL OF AUGURY) *ſettl'd in Pannonia:* telling next, how, after dividing their forces, they invaded Greece, Macedonia, and moſt parts of Aſia, where they founded the Gallogrecian Tetrarchy. But ſtill you ſee they were birds, that guided thoſe famous expeditions.

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(47) Non temerè eſt, quod corvos cantat mihi nunc ab laeva manu;
Semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce crocitabat ſua.
Aulul. Act. 4. Scen. 3. ver. 1.

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(48) Ex his portio in Italia conſedit, quae et urbem Romam captam incendit; et portio Illyricos ſinus, ducibus Avibus (nam Augurandi ſtudio Galli praeter ceteros callent) per ſtrages Barbarorum penetravit, et in Pannonia conſedit. *Lib.* 24. *cap.* 4.

V. I HAVE by good authorities ſhown before, that the antienteſt Greec writers had much greater certainty, and knew many more particulars, concerning the Brittiſh Ilands, even the moſt remote and minute, than ſuch as came after them; by reaſon that the Grecian trade hither, open'd firſt by the Phenicians, had been for a long time interrupted, or rather quite abandon'd. Thus in time the original Relations came to be look'd upon as ſo many fables, at which I do not ſo much wonder in any man, as in the moſt judicious of all Geographers and the moſt inſtructive, I mean the Philoſopher STRABO. Theſe later Greecs were implicitly credited and tranſcrib'd by the Roman writers, till Britain came to be fully known, having rather been ſhown than conquer'd by JULIUS CESAR; and ſcarce believ'd to be an Iland, tho it was conſtantly affirm'd to be ſo by the moſt antient diſcoveries, till VESPASIAN's Lieutenant, AGRICOLA, found it beyond all poſſibility of contradiction to be an (49) Iland, part of the Roman fleet ſailing round it. But of the remoteſt Ilands there has been no exact account from that time to this. That of DONALD MONRO, in JAMES the fifth of Scotland's time, is very imperfect: and tho in our own time Doctor Martin, who is a native of one of thoſe Ilands, has travell'd over them all to laudable purpoſe; yet his deſcriptions are in many inſtances too ſhort, beſides that he omits ſeveral obſervations, which his own materials ſhow he ought to have frequently made. Conſidering therefore the curious things out of him and others, that may be agreeably read in my two former Letters (together with many more accounts of Monuments there, which I have from good hands) I own that I am paſſionately deſirous to ſpend one ſummer in thoſe Ilands, before the *Hiſtory of the Druids* makes its public appearance in the world. But I return to the antient writers who mention the remoteſt Brittiſh Ilands, of whom Pytheas of Maſſilia, a Greec colony in Gaule (now Marſeilles) is the very firſt on record. He liv'd in the time of Alexander the great, and publiſh'd his Geographical work, or rather his Voyages, intitul'd (50) the *Tour of the Earth*, before his contemporary Timeus wrote, or Dicearchus, or Eratosthenes, or Polybius; who follow'd each other, and who in ſome things diſagree. This Pytheas, and alſo one Euthymenes, were ſent by the Senate of Marſeilles to make diſcoveries; the former to the north, the latter to the ſouth. Euthymenes, ſailing along the coaſt of Africa, paſt the line:

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(49) Hanc oram noviſſimi maris tunc primùm Romana Claſſis circumvecta, inſulam eſſe Britanniam affirmavit. *Tacit. in Vita Agric. cap.* 10.

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(50) Γης περιοδος. Scholiaſt. in Apollonii Argonautica, *lib.* 4. *ad verſ.* 761.

and PYTHEAS, landing in Britain and Ireland, as well as on the German coaſt and in Scandinavia, ſail'd beyond Iceland. Both the one and the other made ſuch diſcoveries, as long paſt for fables: but time, by means of our modern navigation, has done both of 'em juſtice. PYTHEAS, on his part, was terribly decry'd by STRABO, who without ceremony calls him (51) *a moſt lying felow*; tho he's ſince found, and now known by every body, to be much more in the right than himſelf. Nothing is more exact, than what he has related, or that is related after him, of the temperature of the Brittiſh climate, of the length of the nights and days, of the ſtrange birds and monſtrous fiſhes of the Northern Ocean: nor is it a ſmall loſs, that a treatiſe he wrote in particular *of the Ocean* has periſh'd with his other works, whereof we have onely a few fragments. He was the firſt, for ought appears, that mention'd *Thule*, meaning thereby the utmoſt inhabited Iland beyond Britain; from which he ſays it is about (52) ſix days ſail, and near the frozen ſea, which perfectly agrees to Iceland. But STRABO denies that there was ever any (53)

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(51) Πυθέας ανερ ψευδεστατος εξητασται. *Lib.* 1. *p.* 110.

(52) ——Δια Θουλης, ἡν Φησι Πυθεας απο μεν της Βρετανικης ἓξ ἡμερων πλουν απεχειν προς αρκτον; εγγυς δειναι της πεπηγυιας θαλαττης. *Ibid. pag.* 109.

(53) *Tul* in the ancient language ſignifies naked and bleak, as Iceland has neither tree nor ſhrub; ſo that *Tul-i*, without any alteration, is *the naked Iland*, the moſt proper name for Iceland, and which foreners muſt have naturally learnt of the Britons, whether Ibernian or Albionian. *Tul*, *gach*

Thule, or that any thing beyond Iceland (which he places to the north of Great Britain, wheras it is due weſt of it) either was or cou'd be inhabited. *They*, ſays he in his (54) firſt book, *who have ſeen Brittiſh Ireland, ſpeak nothing about Thule, but onely that there are ſeveral ſmall Ilands near Britain.* In the ſecond book he (55) ſays, *the utmoſt place of navigation in our time, from Gaule towards the north, is ſaid to be Ireland; which being ſituated beyond Britain, is, by reaſon of the cold, with difficulty inhabited: ſo that all beyond it*, continues he, *is reckon'd uninhabitable.* This of Ireland, namely, that it is the north of Britain, and ſcarce habitable for cold, he repeats again in two or three places; from which he draws this concluſion, that there is no Thule at all, ſince nothing is habitable beyond Ireland: which therefore, according to him, is the moſt northerly part of the habitable earth. You ſee here how much more in the right Pytheas was, who liv'd in the time of

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gach ni nocht, Tul is every naked thing, ſays O Clery in his *Vocabulary of obſolete words.* It was a ſlender affinity of ſound, that made *Ila* (one of the weſtern Scottiſh Iles) to be taken for *Thule*; for neither is it the utmoſt land of Europe, nor yet of the Brittiſh Ilands themſelves. See what I have written in the ſecond book concerning the diſputes about *Thule.*

(54) Ὁι την Βρετανικην Ιερνεν ιδοντες, ουδεν περι της Θουλης λεγουσιν; αλλας νησους λεγοντες μιχρας περι την Βρετανικην. *Ibid. pag.* 110.

(55) Ὁ δε γε απο της Κελτικης προς αρκτον, πλους εσχατος λεγεται παρα τοις νυν, ὁ ετι την Ιερνην, επεκεινα μέν ȣσαν της Βρετανικης, αθλιως δε δια ψυχος οικουμενην: ὥϛε τα επεκεινα νομιζειν αοικητα. *Id. lib.* 2. *pag.* 124.

ALEXANDER, than STRABO who liv'd in the time of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS; and that it is a proceding no leſs impertinent than unjuſt, to have any man contradicted who was upon the ſpot, but by ſuch others as were alſo there: unleſs the things related be manifeſtly impoſſible, or that the relator is no competent judge; as if a travellor, who underſtands no mathematics, ſhould affirm the Malabarians to be the beſt Mathematicians in the world. But STRABO, who, notwithſtanding all theſe groſs miſtakes in the extremities of Europe, is one of the foremoſt authors in my eſteem: STRABO, I ſay, a little lower in the ſame book, as doubting whether he was in the right, and pretending it was no great matter ſhou'd he be in the wrong, affirms that at leaſt it is not known whether there be any habitable place beyond Ireland (which he ſtill places to the north of Britain) *nor* (56) *is it of any importance to the Prince*, ſays he, *to have an exact notice of ſuch regions or their inhabitants; eſpecially ſhou'd they live in ſuch Ilands, which cannot contribute any thing to our damage or profit* (meaning the Romans) *there being no intercourſe between us.* This reflection might perhaps be true with reſpect to the Emperor and the Empire: yet it is a very lame reaſon for a Geographer, who is

(56) Προς τε τας Ἡγεμονικας χρειας ουδεν αν ειη πλεονεκτημα, τας τοιαυτας γνωριζειν χωρας και τους οικουντας: και μαλιστα ει νησους οικειν τοιαυτας, ἁι μητε λυπειν μητε ωφελειν ἡμας δυναντα μηδεν, δια το ανεπιπλεκτον. *Ibid. pag.* 176.

accurately to deſcribe all places, let them have relation to his Prince or not. But the truth of it is, he wou'd not believe the antient Greec and Maſſilian ſailors; neither had he any better information himſelf, wherby to ſupply or to correct them.

VI. AS for Ireland, it was very well known to the more antient Geographers, as I ſhow'd before; it being directly in the way of the Phenicians (who are ſaid by (57) ARISTOTLE to have diſcover'd it) when they ſail'd for Britain. Lying therefore ſo conveniently for the Phenicians, Grecians, Spaniards, and Gauls, it was always a place of great trade: and for this reaſon TACITUS (58) ſays (agreeable to the Iriſh annals) *that its ports were better known for trade, and more frequented by merchants, than thoſe of Britain.* Neither is PYTHEAS's account of the frozen ſea, any more than that of Thule, a fable. Whoever was in Greenland, knows it to be literally true. It is therefore, in the antient Greec and Roman books, call'd the Icy, the ſlow, (59) the congeal'd, the dead ſea; as I have read that it is in ſome Arabic books very properly written, the dark ſea and the ſea of pitch. In the oldeſt Iriſh books 'tis call'd by words (60) that import the *foul*, and the *foggy* ſea; and likewiſe *Muir-chroinn*, or the coagulated (61) ſea, from the word *Croinn*, which ſignifies cloſe and thick as well as (62) round. From this original, which PYTHEAS and other travellors learnt no doubt from the Britons, this ſea was nam'd (63) *Cronium*: and not (as afterwards invented from the mere ſound) becauſe CRONOS, or SATURN, was inchanted in Ogygia, an Iland weſt of Britain; which is fabulouſly reported by (64) PLUTARCH and other writers, who have hitherto been inconſiderately follow'd by every body. I wonder they do not affirm after them, ſince they may do ſo with equal reaſon, that ſome of the weſt and north Brittiſh Ilands are poſſeſt by (65) heroes and departed ſouls. The northern ſea, even before one comes to the Icy part, and perhaps moſt properly, may be term'd *ſlow* and *dead*, by reaſon of the *Rouſts*, or meetings of contrary Tides; whoſe conflict is ſomtimes ſo equal, that they are a great impediment to the boat or ſhip's way: nay ſomtimes, tho under ſail, they can make no way at all; but are very often impetuouſly whirl'd round, and now and then quite ſwallow'd up. This kind of ſhipwrack is no leſs naturally than elegantly deſcrib'd by Virgil, when he relates the fate of Orontes who commanded a ſhip under Eneas:

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(57) Εν τῃ θαλασσῃ, τῃ εξω Ἡρακλειων ϛηλων, Φασιν ὑπο Καρχηδονιων νησον ευρεθηναι ερημην, εχουσαν ὑλην τε παντοδαπῃ, και ποταμους πλωτους, και τοις λοιποις Καρποις θαυμαϛην, απεχουσαν δε πλειονων εμερων; et quae ſequuntur illic reliqua, Hiberniae imprimis convenientia. *De Mirabil. Auſcultat.*

(58) Melius aditus portuſque, per commercia et negotiatores, cogniti. *Vit. Agric. cap.* 24.

(59) Mare glaciale, pigrum, congelatum, mortuum.

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(60) *Muircheacht*, *Muircheoach*.

(61) Mare concretum.

(62) *Crunn* has the ſame ſignification in Welſh; and *Cronni* or *Croinnigh* in both the languages ſignifies to gather, to obſtruct, to heap, and particularly *Cronni* to thicken or ſtagnate waters: ſo that this derivation of the *Cronian*, and *congeal'd ſea*, cannot be reaſonably call'd in queſtion.

(63) Ἁλς κρονιη.

(64) *De facie in orbe Lunae: de Defectu Oraculor.* Videndi etiam ORPHEUS *in Argonauticis*, PLINIUS, SOLINUS, ISAACIUS TZETZES in LYCOPHRONIS *Alexandram*, &c.

(65) Iidem conſulendi, quorum in Annotatione praecedenti mentio: nec non in HORATII Epodam 16 commentantes legendi.

Ipſius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit; excutitur, pronuſque magiſter
Volvitur in caput: aſt illam ter fluctus ibidem
Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat aequore vortex.
Aen. lib. 1.

I ſhou'd not forget here, that, upon the diſcovery of Thule by Pytheas, one Antonius Diogenes wrote a Romance in twenty four books, which he intitul'd *the Incredibilities of Thule*; where he laid his ſcene, and whereof Photius has given ſome (66) account. I have dwelt the longer upon theſe Ilands, becauſe they did not onely, like the other parts of Britain, abound with Druids, who have there left various memorials of themſelves:

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(66) Των ὑπερ Θουλην απιϛων λογοι κδ. In Bibliotheca, cod. 166.

but alſo becauſe the laſt footing they had in the world was here, which makes it little leſs than eſſential to my ſubject. Nor was it in the Ile of *Man* alone, that a peculiar Government was ſet up by their procurement or approbation; as you have read in my ſecond Letter of their Diſciple, the admirable Legiſlator MANANNAN. There was likewiſe another Government of their creation, ſingular enough, in the (67) *Hebudes*; where better proviſion was made againſt the changing of an elective into a hereditary Monarchy, and againſt all other exorbitances of the Prince, than ever I read in any author antient or modern. SOLINUS ſpeaking of theſe Ilands, *there is one King*, ſays (68) he, *over them all; for they are, as many as be of them, divided onely by narrow channels. This King has nothing of his own, but ſhares of every thing that every man has. He is by certain Laws oblig'd to obſerve equity: and leſt avarice ſhou'd make him deviate from the right way, he learns juſtice from Poverty; as having*

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(67) Another name for the Weſtern Iles, equivalent to the *Hebrides*: if they were not originally the ſame, having perhaps by the miſtake of Tranſcribers been written for each other; nothing being eaſier, than to confound *ui* with *ri*, or *ri* with *ui*, as antiently written.

(68) Rex unus eſt univerſis: nam quotquot ſunt, omnes anguſtâ interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil ſuum habet, omnia univerſorum. Ad aequitatem certis Legibus ſtringitur; ac, ne avaritiâ divertat a vero, diſcit paupertate juſtitiam: utpote cui nihil ſit rei familiaris, verùm alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur foemina propria; ſed per viciſſitudines, in quacunque commotus ſit, uſurariam ſumit: unde ei nec votum, nec ſpes, Liberorum. *Cap.* 22.

no manner of property, being maintained upon the public expence. He has not as much as a wife of his own, but by certain turns makes uſe of any woman towards whom he has an inclination; whence it happens, that he has neither the deſire nor the hope of any children. 'Tis pity this author has not ſpecify'd thoſe Laws, by which equity was preſcrib'd to the Hebudian Monarch, in injoying what was proper for him of other men's goods: and that he has not told us, how thoſe viciſſitudes were regulated, whereby he had the temporary uſe of other men's wives, who nevertheleſs were to father all the children. As I ſhow'd this paſſage one day to a couple of my friends, one of them readily agreed, that the State muſt needs find their account in this conſtitution; both as it ſav'd the expence of treaſure in maintaining a numerous Royal Progeny, and as it ſav'd the expence of blood in ſettling their ſeveral claims or contentions: but had it not been, ſaid he, for the ſtrict care taken againſt accumulating riches or power on the Prince, I ſhould have naturally thought, that it was one of thoſe Druidical Prieſts, who had thus advantageouſly carv'd for himſelf. Hereupon the other reply'd, that he fancy'd ſuch Prieſts wou'd be contented to have plentiful eating and drinking, and variety of women, thus eſtabliſh'd by Law for them; ſince it was for no other end, he conceiv'd, but to obtain theſe, that they ſtruggl'd ſo hard any where for power and riches. But if this were ſo, the Druids cou'd be at no manner of loſs about their pleaſures; conſidering the ſway they bore in the civil authority, and their management of the much more powerful engine of Superſtition: for *without the Druids, who underſtand Divination and Philoſophy*, ſays (69) DION CHRYSOSTOM, *the Kings may neither do nor conſult any thing; ſo that in reality they are the Druids who reign, while the Kings (tho they ſit on golden thrones, dwell in ſpacious palaces, and feed on coſtly diſhes) are onely their Miniſters, and the executioners of their Sentence.* Judge now what influence thoſe Prieſts had upon the People, when they might thus control the Prince; and conſequently, whether they could poſſibly want any thing, that brought 'em either pleaſure or power. The Kings bore all the envy, and the Druids poſſeſt all the ſweets of authority.

VII. BUT leaving both for a while, I ſubmit to your Lordſhip's conſideration, upon ſuch evidences and proofs as I am going to produce; whether the *Hyperborean Iland*, ſo much celebrated by antiquity, be not ſome one or more of the remoteſt Brittiſh Ilands: and particularly the great Iland of Lewis and Harries, with its appendages, and the adjacent Iland of Sky; which in every circumſtance agree to the deſcription that DIODORUS SICULUS gives of the Iland of the *Hyperboreans*. Let's mention ſome of thoſe circumſtances. He (70) ſays that the Harp was there in great repute, as indeed it is ſtill; every Gentleman having one in his houſe, beſides a multitude of Harpers by profeſſion, intertain'd gratis wherever they come. He tells us, that above all other Gods (71) they worſhipt APOLLO; which, in my firſt *Letter*, I evidently ſhow they did under the name of BELENUS (72). He ſays further, that beſides a magnificent ſacred Grove, APOLLO's remarkable Temple (73) there was round, wherof I have given a particular deſcription and plan in my ſecond Letter (74), it ſubſiſting in great part ſtill. He affirms that they had a peculiar Dialect, which in reality continues the ſame to this day; it being *Earſe*, or the ſixth among the Celtic Dialects I enumerated in my firſt *Letter*: and approaching ſo near to that of the Iriſh, that theſe and the Ilanders diſcourſe together without any difficulty. But, omitting ſeveral other matters no leſs concordant, he adds, that the Iland was frequented of old by the (75) Greecs, and in friendſhip with them; which will be eaſily admitted, after peruſing the fourth and fifth Sections of this preſent *Letter*, where I manifeſtly prove this intercourſe. I very well know, that others, who are far from agreeing among themſelves, do place the Hyperboreans elſewhere: nor am I ignorant that diverſe, after the example of (76) ANTONIUS DIOGENES's *Thulian Romance*, have indeavor'd to divert their readers, no leſs than themſelves, with Hyperborean fictions; and ſo made ſuch variations of ſite or circumſtances, as beſt ſuited their ſeveral plans, to ſpeak nothing of ſuch as were groſſly ignorant in Geography. Allowances ought to be made for all theſe things. And the Hyperborean continent (which was queſtionleſs the moſt northern part of Scythia, or of Tartary and Muſcovy, ſtretching quite to Scandinavia, or Sweden and Norway) this Hyperborean continent, I ſay, muſt be carefully diſtinguiſh'd from the Hyperborean Iland; whoſe ſoil was more temperate and fertile, as its inhabitants more civiliz'd, harmleſs, and happy. But, to prevent all cavils, I declare beforehand, that as by *Thule* I mean onely that of PYTHEAS, or Iceland, and not the conjectures or miſtakes of people that liv'd long after him; ſome making it to be Ireland, others Schetland (which I believe to be the Thule of (77) TACITUS) others the northermoſt part of Great Britain, and others other (78) places: ſo by the Iland of the Hyperboreans, I mean that deſcrib'd by DIODORUS SICULUS after HECATEUS and others, as being an Iland *in the Ocean beyond* (79) *Gaule to the north*, or under the Bear, where people liv'd with no leſs ſimplicity, than indolence and contentment; and which ORPHEUS, or, if you pleaſe, ONOMACRITUS, very rightly places near the (80) Cronian or Dead Sea. 'Tis by this ſituation, as hereafter more particularly mark'd, that I am willing to be judg'd: ſhowing it alſo to be an Iland near the *Scots*, whether Hibernian or Albanian; who are, by (81) CLAUDIAN, made borderers on the Hyperborean Sea. From this Iland the Argonauts, after touching there coming out of the Cronian

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(69) Κελτοι δε ὁυς ονομαζουσι Δρυιδας, και τουτους περι μαντικην οντας και την αλλην σοφιαν, ὧν ανευ τοις Βασιλευσιν ουδεν εξην πραττειν ουδε βουλεσθαι; ὡςε το μεν αληθες εκεινους αρχειν, τους δε βασιλεας αυτων ὑπερητας και διακονους γιγνεθαι της γνωμης, εν θρονοις χρυσοις καθημενους, και οικιας μεγαλας οικουντας, και πολυτιμως ευωχουμενους. *De recuſatione Magiſtrat. in Senatu, pag.* 538. *Edit. Paris.*

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(70) Των δε κατοικουντων αυτην τους πλειστους ειναι Κιθαριστας. *Lib.* 2. *pag.* 130.

(71) Τον Απολλω μαλιστα των αλλων θεων παρ' αυτοις τιμασθαι. *Ibid.*

(72) In the Celtic language BEAL and BEALAN.

(73) Ὑπαρχειν δε κατα την νεσον τεμενος τε Απολλωνος μεγαλοπρεπες, και ναον αξιολογον, αναθημασι πολλοις κεκοσμημενον, σφαιροειδη τῳ σχηματι. *Ibid.*

(74) Section XI.

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(75) Προς τους Ἑλλενας οικειοτατα διακεισθαι, &c. *Ibid.*
(76) See the laſt Section.

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(77) Inſulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Deſpecta eſt et Thule, quam hactenus nix et hiems abdebat. *In vita Agric. cap.* 10.

(78) See the *Eſſay concerning the Thule of the Antients, by* Sir ROBERT SIBBALD.

(79) ——Εν τοις αντιπεραν της Κελτικης τοποις, κατα τον Ωκεανον, ειναι νησον, ουκ ελαττω της Σικηλιας; ταυτην ὑπαρχειν μεν κατα τους αρκτους. *Lib.* 2. *pag.* 130.

(80) ———— Κρονιουτε επικλησκουσι
Ποντον ὑπερβορεην μεροπες νεκρηντε θαλασσαν.
Argonaut. ver. 1079.

(81) ———— *Scotumque vago mucrone ſecutus,*
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.
De 3 Conſ. Honor. ver. 55.

Ocean, according to ORPHEUS, ſail'd to (82) Ireland in the Atlantic Ocean; and ſo to the (83) Pillars of HERCULES, where they enter'd again into the Mediterranean (84). No marks can be plainer, ſo there is no other Iland (thoſe of Faroe and Iceland excepted) but the northweſt Brittiſh Ilands, between the Cronian and the Atlantic Ocean, as every one knows that has once look'd into a map; which expres ſituation of the Hyperborean Iland, together with its being ſaid by DIODORUS to ly beyond the Gallic regions towards the north, or the Bear, the frequent uſe of the Harp there, and the worſhip of APOLLO in a round Temple, amounts I think to as full a proof as any thing of this nature requires. DIODORUS adds, in the place where I laſt quoted him, that the Hyperborean City and Temple were always govern'd by the family of the (85) BOREADS (86), who with no more probability were *the deſcendants of* BOREAS, an imaginary Perſon or Deity, than the Hyperboreans were ſo call'd, *from being ſituated more northerly*

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(82) Αγκαιος δ'οιακας επιςαμενως ετιταινε,
Παρ δ'αρα νεσον αμειϐεν Ιερνιδα———
Ibid. ver. 1178.

(83) Κυμα διαπρησσοντες, ανα ςομα τερνησοιο
Ἱκομεθα, ςηλαισι δ'εκελσαμεν Ἡρακλεῆος.
Ibid. ver. 1240.

(84) Now *the Straits of Gibraltar.*

(85) Βασιλευειντε της πολεως ταυτης, και τȣ τεμενους επαρχειν τȣς ονομαζομενους Βορεαδας, απογονους οντας Βορεου, και καταγενος αιέι διαδεχασθαι τας αρχας. *Lib.* 2. *pag.* 130.

(86) BOREADES.

than the (87) *North-wind:* but in reality they were then, as they are ſtill, govern'd by their chiefs or heads of tribes, whom they call'd in their own language BOIREADHACH; that is to ſay, the Great ones, or powerful and valiant men, from *Borr*, anticntly ſignifying Grandeur and (88) Majeſty. The Greecs have in a thouſand inſtances apply'd foren words to the very different ſenſe of other words approaching to the ſame ſound in their own language. Their firſt ſailors into thoſe parts gave the Ilanders the name of *Hyperboreans*, from their lying *ſo far towards the North* with reſpect to the ſtraights of HERCULES, (89) for which I have indiſputable authorities; and after having once thus ſtil'd them, they greedily catch'd at the alluſive ſound of their Leaders or Magiſtrates, Grecizing thoſe Grandees, or BOIREADHACH, into BOREADES: which was literally underſtood in Greece of the fabulous deſcendants of BOREAS, very conſonantly to their Mythology, or, if you will, to their Theology. But I noted (90) before, that

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(87) *Απο τȣ προσσωτερω κεισθαι της βορειου πνοης.* *Lib.* 2. *p.* 130.

(88) As for theſe words *Borr* and *Buireadhach* or *Boinadhach* (the vowels *u* and *o* being with us moſt frequently put for each other) I might appeal to ſeveral authentic Manuſcripts; but, becauſe ſuch are not obvious to many, I chuſe rather to refer my readers to the *Seánaſan núadh*, or printed vocabulary of obſolete words by O CLERY, and to LHUYD's printed *Iriſh-Engliſh Dictionary:* ſo that theſe words are no children of fancy, as but too frequently happens in Etymologies. From the ſame root are *Borragach* couragious, and *Borrthoradh* awe or worſhip, with the like.

(89) Now of *Gibraltar.*

(90) Letter II. Section V.

PLATO, in his Cratylus, was of (91) *opinion the Greecs had borrow'd many words from the Barbarians; eſpecially*, adds he, *ſuch of the Greecs as liv'd in the Barbarian territories:* which may be fairly ſuppos'd to include thoſe who navigated, or that drove any traffic among them. And hence the divine Philoſopher himſelf draws this accurate (92) inference, *that if any man wou'd indeavor to adjuſt the Etymologies of thoſe words with the Greec language, and not rather ſeek for them in that to which they originally belong, he muſt needs be at a loſs.* 'Tis farther moſt deſerving obſervation, that ERATOSTHENES, an antient Chronologer and Geographer of vaſt reputation for Learning, ſpeaking of APOLLO's famous *Arrow*, with which he ſlew the Cyclopes, and in honor of which one of the Conſtellations is ſo call'd, ſays that (93) *he hid it among the Hyperboreans, where there is his Temple made of wings*, or *a winged Temple*, the words being capable of both ſenſes. If the latter was the meaning of ERATOSTHENES, we have already given the Deſcription of ſuch a winged Temple, yet ſtanding there: and if the former, no place under heaven cou'd furniſh more feathers, nor of more various kinds, to adorn men or buildings, than thoſe ſame Ilands; where many of the inhabitants pay their rent with them, and make a conſiderable profit beſides. For this reaſon perhaps, and not from its promontories, the Ile of Skie is in the language of the natives call'd *Scianach*, (94) or the winged Iland, whereof the Engliſh name *Skie* is an abbreviation or corruption. Now, if the Hebrides were the Hyperboreans of DIODORUS (as I fancy it can ſcarce hereafter be doubted) then the moſt celebrated ABARIS was both of that Country and likewiſe a Druid, having been the (95) Prieſt of APOLLO. SUIDAS, who knew not the diſtinction of Inſular Hyperboreans, makes him a Scythian; as do ſome others miſled by the ſame vulgar error, tho DIODORUS has truly fix'd his country in the Iland, not on the continent. And indeed their fictions or blunders are infinite concerning our *Abaris*. This is certain however among 'em all, that he travell'd quite over (96) Greece, and from thence into Italy, where he familiarly convers'd with PYTHAGORAS; who favor'd him beyond all his Diſciples, by imparting his doctrines to him (eſpecially his thoughts of nature) in a more compendious and plainer method, than to any others. This diſtinction cou'd not but highly redound to the advantage of ABARIS. For, the reaſons of PYTHAGORAS's backwardneſs and retention in communicating his doctrines, being, in the firſt place, that he might eradicate (if poſſible) out of the minds of his Diſciples all vitious and turbulent paſſions, forming them by degrees to a habit of virtue, which is the beſt preparative for receiving Truth; as, next, to fit them, by a competent knowlege of the Mathematical Sciences, for reaſoning with exactneſs about thoſe higher contemplations of nature, into which they were to be initiated; and, laſtly, to have repeated proofs of their diſcretion in concealing ſuch important diſcoveries from the *ignorant* and the *wicked*, the latter being unworthy, and the former incapable of true Philoſophy: it follows therefore, that he judg'd ABARIS already ſufficiently prepared in all theſe reſpects, and ſo he oblig'd him with an immediate communication of his moſt inward ſentiments; conceal'd from others under the vail of numbers, or of ſome other enigmatical Symbols. The Hyperborean in return preſented the Samian, as if he had equall'd APOLLO himſelf in Wiſdom, with the *ſacred Arrow*; riding aſtride which he's fabulouſly reported by the Greec writers, to have flown in the air over rivers and lakes, foreſts and mountains: as our vulgar ſtill believe, and no where more than in the Hebrides, that wizards and witches waft whither they pleaſe upon Broom-ſticks. But what was hid under this Romantic expedition, with the true meaning of the *Arrow* it ſelf, the nature of the predictions that ABARIS ſpread in Greece, and the doctrines that he learnt at Crotona; with the conceit of theſe Hyperboreans that LATONA the mother of APOLLO, was born among them, nay that he was ſo too, and their moſt exact aſtronomical cycle of nineteen years: theſe particulars, I ſay, you'll read at large in my *Hiſtory of the Druids*, ſtript of all fable and diſguiſe; as well as a full diſcuſſion of the Queſtion (about which antient writers are divided) *whether the* DRUIDS *learnt their* (97) *ſymbolical and enigmatical method of teaching, together with the doctrine of Tranſmigration from* PYTHAGORAS, *or that this Philoſopher had borrow'd theſe particulars from the* DRUIDS? The communication between them was eaſy enough, not only by means of ſuch travellers as PYTHAGORAS and ABARIS, but alſo by the nearneſs of Gaule to Italy: tho there will ſtill remain another Queſtion, viz. whether the Egyptians had not theſe things before either of them; and therefore whether they did not both receive them from the Egyptians?

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(91) Εννοω γαρ, ὁτι πολλα οἱ Ελληνὲς ονοματα, αλλως τε και οἱ ὑπο τοις βαρβαροις οικουντες, παρα των βαρβαρων ειληφασι. *Inter Opera, Edit. Paris. Vol.* 1. *pag.* 409.

(92) Ει τις ζητοι ταυτα κατα την Ἑλληνικην φωνην ὡς εοικοτως κειται, αλλα μη κατ᾽ εκεινην εξ ἡς το ονομα τυγχανει ον, οισθα ὁτι αποροι αν. *Ibid.*

(93) Εκρυψε δε αυτο [το τοξικον] εν ὑπερβορειοις, ὁυ και ὁ ναος ὁ πτέρινος. *In Cataſteriſmis, inter Opuſcula Mythologica et Phyſica. Edit. Amſt. pag.* 124.

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(94) *Oilean Sciathanach.*

(95) Το μεν γαρ ὁτι τον μηρον χρυσουν επεδειξεν Αβαριδι τῳ Ὑπερβορεῳ, εικασαντι αυτον Απολλωνα ειναι τον εν Ὑπερβορεοις, ὁυπερ ην ἱερευς ὁ Αβαρις, βεϐαιουντα ὡς τουτο αληθες τεθρυλληται. *Porphyrius in vita Pythagorae. Eadem, et iiſdem equidem verbis habet Jamblichus, Lib.* 1. *cap.* 28.

(96) Ωσαυτως δε και εκ των ὑπερϐορεων Αβαριν εις την Ἑλλαδα καταντησαντα το παλαιον, &c. *Ubi ſupra.*

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(97) Και φασι τους μεν Γυμνοσοφιςας και Δρυιδας αινιγματωδως αποφθεγγομενους φιλοφησαι. *Diogen. Laert. in proœm. Sect.* 6.

VIII. YET before all things we muſt here examine what can be offer'd, with any color, againſt our account of *the Hyperborean Iland*; after that ſo many circumſtances, and particularly the ſituation, ſeem to point demonſtratively to the true place: nor certainly, when things are duely conſider'd, will the objections that have been ſtarted in private converſation (as I know of no other that can be publickly made) be found to have the leaſt difficulty. Thule or Iceland, rightly plac'd by CLAUDIAN in the (98) Hyperborean Climate, beſides the incongruities of the ſoil and the intemperateneſs of the air, is diſtinguiſh'd by DIODORUS himſelf from the Iland in queſtion: and the Iles of Faroe, being onely a parcel of barren rocks of very ſmall extent, without any monuments of antiquity, deſerve not ſo much as to be mention'd on this occaſion. Neither indeed has any of my acquaintance inſiſted on either of theſe. But DIODORUS (ſays one of 'em) tho exactly agreeing to your ſituation or that of ORPHEUS, and that your other circumſtances do perfectly tally to his deſcription: yet is different in this, that he ſpeaks onely of one Iland, not leſs than (99) Sicily; whereas you underſtand this of ſeveral Ilands, which altogether have ſcarce that extent. I anſwer, that the marks of the right place which I have mentioned already, and ſuch others as I ſhall preſently alledge, will more than counterbalance any miſtake (if there be any) about the bigneſs of the Iland. Travellers and Mariners, who either have not been aſhore or not ſtaid long enough in any place to ſurvey it, are known to ſpeak onely by gueſs, and frequently very much at random. Has not Great Britain it ſelf (ſo much celebrated, as PLINY juſtly (100) writes, by the Greec and Roman authors) been taken to be of vaſt extent, and not certainly known by the Romans to be an Iland, till the time (101) of VESPASIAN? Endleſs examples of this kind might eaſily be produc'd. And as for the multitude of thoſe Ilands, which are ſeparated onley by narrow channels, it makes nothing at all againſt me. For, beſides that ſuch an aggregation of Ilands is often taken in common ſpeech for onely one; as not to go out of our own Dominions, ſuch is Schetland, in name one country, but in effect conſiſting of more than 30 Ilands: ſo there are ſeveral indications, join'd to the Tradition of the Inhabitants (of which ſee Dr. MARTIN in his *Account of Saint Kilda* and elſewhere) that ſome of thoſe weſtern Ilands have been formerly united, and many of them nearer each other than at preſent.

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(98) ————Te, quò libet ire, ſequemur:
Te vel Hyperboreo damnatam ſidere Thulen,
Te vel ad incenſas Libyae comitabor arenas.
In Rufin. lib. 2.

(99) Ουκ ελαττω της Σικελιας. *Ubi ſupra.*

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(100) See Section III.
(101) See Section V.

However, taking them as they now are, Lewis, otherwiſe call'd *the Long Iland,* being at leaſt a hundred miles in (102) length, Skie forty, ſeveral of the reſt above four and twenty each, and all appearing as one Iland (having many winding bays or inlets) to one who ſails without them, or that touches onely at ſome of the greateſt; conſidering this, I ſay, the miſtake will not be reckon'd ſo enormous in a ſailor or ſtranger, if he compares them in the lump to Sicily for extent. Another perſon granting all this, objects that DIODORUS repreſents the Hyperborean Iland a very (103) temperate region; which, according to my friend, cannot be ſaid of any place in the northern Latitude of 58, and partly of 59. But whoever has travell'd far himſelf, or read the Relations of ſuch as have; will be convinc'd that the ſeaſons in every region of the world, do not always anſwer to their poſition: of which the cauſes are various, as huge ridges of mountains, the neighborhood of vaſt lakes or marſhes, winds blowing from places cover'd with ſnow, or the like. Thus Britain and Ireland are known, not onely to be much more temperate than the places on the Continent of the ſame poſition with them, but even than ſome of ſuch as are more ſoutherly; by reaſon of the ſalt vapors and continual agitations of the ſurrounding Ocean, which diſſolve, allay, and mitigate the froſts and winds blowing from the Continent. This holds as true with regard to the Hebrides, which by experience are allow'd to be yet more temperate; the ſnow not lying near ſo long as in Britain, and a tepid vapor being very ſenſible there in the midſt of winter. This was enough to fill the Greec ſailors with admiration, which to us ought to be none; ſince their learned men often ſpoke of many places, not as they actually were in themſelves, but as in their ſpeculations they imagin'd they ought to be: without conſidering whether there might not occur ſome of the diverſifying circumſtances we have juſt now hinted, or any others begetting the like influences. But that moſt ſagacious interpreter of nature, HIPPOCRATES, knew better things, when he taught what he learnt by experience (having been an Ilander himſelf) that Ilands, ſituated (104) far in the ſea, are kindly warm, and that no ſnow can lie on them in winter; while ſuch as are near the ſhore become ſcarce habitable for cold, by reaſon of the ſnow and ice remaining on the continent, which from thence tranſmit bleak winds into thoſe Ilands. The antients, who judg'd of places where they never were by their bare poſitions, did conſequently enough from thence conclude the torrid Zone to be inhabitable: but ſince this Zone has not onely been frequently viſited, but is daily penetrated to the temperate and cold Zones beyond it, 'tis not onely found every where inhabited; but thoſe breezes and ſhowers, with other cauſes, that make living there very comfortable, are the common themes of Philoſophers. This brings me to the laſt, and ſeemingly the ſtrongeſt Objection, viz. that the Hyperborean Iland of DIODORUS, or rather of HECATEUS and others long before him, was ſo plentiful as to have (105) two crops a year. Yet this expreſſion, upon a fair conſtruction, will be ſo far from embaraſſing, that it will highly illuſtrate my explication. It onely ſignifies great plenty and abundance, which I cou'd inſtance by many paſſages of the antients; but ſhall chuſe the neareſt home I can, and that is what (106) VIRGIL ſays of Italy:

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(102) I reckon as Dr. MARTIN and the natives do, from the moſt northerly point of Lewis to Bernera ſouth of Barra, this ſtring of Ilands being onely divided by channels moſtly fordable: and if it be conſider'd that I make uſe of Scottiſh miles, every place is at leaſt a third part more, according to the Engliſh or Italian meaſure.

(103) *Ουσαν δ' αυτην ευγειοντε και παμφοραν, ετι δε ευκρασια διαφερουσαν, διττους κατ' ετος εκφερειν καρπους. Ubi ſupra.*

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(104) Των δε νησων, ἁι μεν εγγυς των ηπειρων, δυσχειμερωτεραι εισιν; ἁι δε ποντιαι, αλεινοτεραι τον χειμωνα: διοτι ἁι χιονες και παγοι εν μεν τησιν ηπειροισιν εχουσι ϛασιν, και τα πνευματα ψυχρα πεμπουσιν ες τας εγγυς νησους. Τα δε πελαγια ουκ εχει ϛασιν εν χειμωνι. *De Diaeta, lib.* 2. *cap.* 3.

Perpetual ſpring our happy Climate ſees,
Twice breed the cattle, and twice bear the trees;
And ſummer ſuns recede by ſlow degrees.
DRYDEN's Tranſlation.

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(105) Read the *Note* immediately preceding, bateing one.

(106) Hic ver aſſiduum, atque alienis menſibus aeſtas;
Bis gravidae pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.
Georgic. lib. 2.

But who is ignorant, that this is not literally true? and as to the plenty meant by it in general, 'tis certain that no country abounds more with the neceſſaries of life, and at leſs labor or charge, than the Hebrides. I ſhall dwell ſo much the longer on this head, as my *Hiſtory* may poſſibly reach further than the Celtic Nations. Wherefore, in the firſt place, there is known to be in thoſe Ilands a prodigious plenty of Fleſh and Fiſh. Their cattle of all ſorts (as Cows, Sheep, Goats, and Hogs) are exceding numerous and prolific: ſmall indeed of ſize, as are likewiſe their Horſes, but of a ſweet and delicious taſte. So are their Deer, which freely range in herds on the Mountains. No place can compare with this for tame and wild fowl, there being of the latter no where in the world a greater diverſity, many ſorts of 'em extremely beautiful or rare, and utterly unknown elſewhere. The like may be ſaid of their various amphibious animals. Numberleſs are their fountains and ſprings, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, very wholeſom in their waters, and every where ſuperabounding with fiſh, eſpecially the moſt delicate, as Trout and Salmon: nor is it by Herrings alone that all Europe knows no Seas to be better ſtor'd, nor with more kinds, from the ſhrimp to the whale; as no harbors or bays are ſuperior, whether regard be had to number or commodiouſneſs. Add to this their variety of excellent roots and plants, particularly thoſe of marine growth, every one of them ſerving for food or phyſic. Their paſtures are ſo kindly, that they might live on milk alone, with that inconceivable quantity of Eggs they yearly gather of the deſart rocks and Ilets. But fleſh and fiſh, milk-meats, eggs, and ſallads in the greateſt abundance (ſome will be apt to ſay) are ſlender and comfortleſs food without the ſtaff of bread. On this aſſertion, tho I might fairly diſpute it from the practice of whole nations, and the experience of particular perſons no ſtrangers to me, I will not however inſiſt; bread, among their other productions, being plentiful enough in the Hebrides, which ſometimes cannot be ſaid of the neighboring Ilands. The ground is generally allow'd to be much richer than on the Scottiſh continent, ſome parts whereof are not ſeldom ſupply'd (107) hence with corn: and I have alſo ſuch proofs of it from Dr. MARTIN (who, when he wrote his *Deſcription* of thoſe Ilands, was far from dreaming of the *Hyperboreans)* as will ſufficiently juſtify the expreſſion of DIODORUS about their crops or harveſts. Lewis is very fruitful: and tho Barley, Oats, and Rye, be the onely grain ſown there at preſent; yet the ground both in that, and in moſt of the other (108) Ilands is fit to bear wheat, and conſequently Legumes of all ſorts. 'Tis truely amazing they have any crop at all, conſidering how unskilful they are in Agriculture, how deſtitute of the propereſt inſtruments to till the ground, and that they ſcarce uſe any other manure but ſea-wrack or tangles. From the ignorance of the inhabitants in theſe reſpects, as alſo in planting, incloſing, and draining, many fruitful ſpots ly uncultivated: but the abundance of choice Eatables (and namely the moſt nouriſhing ſhell-fiſh of various kinds) with which they are richly ſupply'd by bountiful nature, contributes more than any thing to that Indolence, which the antient Greecs eſteem'd their Happineſs. The goodneſs of the ſoil appears by nothing more evidently, than by the want of cultivation, whereof I have been juſt complaining. Dr. MARTIN, who was an Ey-witneſs, and ſtrictly examin'd the fact, affirms (109) that in Bernera, near Harries, the produce of Barley is many times from twenty to thirty-fold; that in Harries and South-Uiſt (110) one barley-grain ſometimes produces from ſeven to fourteen ears, as in North-Uiſt from ten to thirty-fold (111) in a plentiful year; that, at Corchattan, in Skie, the increaſe (112) amounted once to thirty-five; that if the ground be laid down for ſome time, it gives a good (113) crop without dunging, ſome fields not having been dung'd in forty years; and that he was inform'd a ſmall tract of ground, at

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(107) See Dr. MARTIN's *Deſcription*, page 140.
(108) Page 53, 337, &c.

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(109) Page 42.
(110) Ibid.
(111) Page 53.
(112) Page 132.
(113) Page 139.

Skerry-breck (114) in the ſaid Ile of Skie, had yielded a hundred-fold. Nay, I have been told my ſelf by a native of that Ile, that the people there believe they might have two crops a year, if they took due pains. For this I beg'd their pardon, but allow'd what was tantamount, ſince the words of DIODORUS may no leſs juſtly be render'd *a double crop*, than *two* (115) *crops*, which laſt however is in ſome reſpects literally true. For with regard to their paſtures (of which ſomewhat before) nothing is more common than for a ſheep to have two (116) lambs at a time. This not onely confirms my conſtruction, and puts me in mind of that verſe in (117) VIRGIL,

She ſuckles twins, and twice a day is milk'd :

but alſo of what the ſo often mention'd Dr. MARTIN relates on this (118) occaſion; which is, that beſides the ordinary rent a tenant paid, it was a cuſtom in the Ilands, if any of his cows or ſheep brought two young ones at a time, one of them was to go to the Landlord : who, on his part, was oblig'd, if any of his tenant's wives bore twins, to take one of them into his own family; and that he himſelf knew a Gentleman, who had ſixteen of theſe twins in his houſe at a time. 'Tis no wonder they are populous. Even the wild Goats on the Mountains, for ſuch there are in Harries, are obſerv'd to bring (119) forth their young twice a year: all which put together, makes the laſt objection againſt me to be none, and therefore finally juſtifies my explication of the paſſage in Diodorus. From hence 'tis evident, My Lord, that thoſe Ilands are capable of great improvement, as they abound likewiſe in many curioſities, eſpecially in Subjects of Philoſophical obſervation. Nor is it leſs plain by the many antient Monuments remaining among them, and the marks of the plow reaching to the very tops of the mountains (which the artleſs inhabitants think incapable of culture) that in remote ages they were in a far more flouriſhing condition than at preſent. The ruins of ſpacious houſes, and the numerous Obeliſcs, old Forts, Temples, Altars, with the like, which I have deſcrib'd (120) before, undeniably prove this: beſides that the country was formerly full of woods, as appears by the great Oak and Firr-trees daily dug out of the ground, and by many other tokens; there being ſeveral ſmall woods and coppices ſtill remaining in Skie, Mull, and other places. Tho I don't pretend, no more than Diodorus, that theſe were *the fortunate*

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(114) Ibid.
(115) Διπλους καρπους.
(116) Page 108.
(117) Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere foetus.
Eclog. 3. *ver.* 30.
(118) Page 109.

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(119) Page 35.
(120) Letter II. Sections VIII, IX, X, &c.

Ilands of the Poets, or the Elyzian-fields of the dead, by ſome plac'd in thoſe (121) ſeas, as by others elſewhere; yet the following lines of (122) HORACE agree to no ſpot better, than the Ilands we have been juſt deſcribing.

——————— From lofty hills
With murmuring pace the fountain trills.
There Goats uncall'd return from fruitful vales,
And bring ſtretch'd dugs to fill the pails.
No bear grins round the fold, no lambs he ſhakes;
No field ſwells there with poyſ'nous ſnakes.
More we ſhall wonder on the happy plain:
The wat'ry Eaſt deſcends in rain,
Yet ſo as to refreſh, not drown the fields;
The temperate glebe full harveſt yields.
No heat annoys: the ruler of the Gods
From plagues ſecures theſe bleſt abodes.

CREECH's Tranſlation.

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(121) Videas Annotationem 63 & 64.

(122) ——————— Montibus altis
Levis crepante lympha deſilit pede.
Illic injuſſae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera.
Nec veſpertinus circumgemit urſus ovile,
Nec intumeſcit alta viperis humus.
Pluraque felices mirabimur: ut neque largis
Aquoſus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
Pinguia nec ſiccis urantur ſemina glebis;
Utrumque Rege temperante Coelitum.

Epod. 16. ver. 47.

The Inhabitants (that I may make a complete commentary on the paſſage of DIODORUS) are not to be mended in the proportion of their perſons: no prepoſterous bandages diſtorting them in the cradle, nor hindring nature from duely forming their limbs; which is the reaſon, that bodily imperfections of any ſort are very rare among them. Neither does any over-officiouſly preventive Phyſic in their infancy, ſpoil their original conſtitution; whence they have ſo ſtrong a habit of body, that one of them requires treble the doſe, as will purge any man in the ſouth of Scotland. But what contributes above all things to their health and longevity, is conſtant Temperance and Exerciſe. As they prefer conveniency to ornament both in their houſes and their apparel (which laſt I think not diſagreeable) ſo, in their way of eating and drinking, they rather ſatisfy than oppreſs nature. Their food is commonly freſh, and their meals two a day, water being the ordinary drink of the vulgar. They are ſtrangers to many of the Diſtempers, as they are to moſt of the Vices of other nations, for ſome of which they have not ſo much as a name: and it may no leſs truely be obſerv'd of theſe than of the ancient Scythians, that (123) the ignorance of vices has had a better effect upon them, than the knowlege of Philoſophy upon politer nations. They owe every thing to nature; They cure all diſorders of the body by ſimples of their own growth, and by proper diet or labor. Hence they are ſtout and active, dextrous in all their exerciſes; as they are withall remarkably ſagacious, choleric but eaſily appeaz'd, ſociable, good natur'd, ever cheerful, and having a ſtrong inclination to Muſic: all which particulars, with the other parts of their paſt and preſent character, I have not onely learnt from the concurrent teſtimonies of ſeveral judicious authors; but alſo from the intimate knowlege I have had my ſelf of many ſcores of the natives, as well in Scotland as elſwhere. They are hoſpitable beyond expreſſion, intertaining all ſtrangers of what condition ſoever gratis; the uſe of mony being ſtill in ſome of thoſe Ilands unknown, and till a few ages paſt in all of them. They have no Lawyers or Attorneys: which, no more than ſeveral other particulars here ſpecify'd, I do not underſtand of the Highlanders on the continent; tho ſpeaking the ſame language, and wearing the ſame dreſs with them. The men and women plead their own cauſes; and a very ſpeedy deciſion is made by the Proprietor, who's Perpetual preſident in their courts, or by his Bailiff as his ſubſtitute. In a word, they are equally void of the two chief plagues of Mankind, LUXURY and AMBITION; which conſequently frees them from all thoſe reſtleſs purſuits, conſuming toils, and never-failing vexations, that men ſuffer elſewhere for thoſe airy, trifling, ſhortliv'd vanities. Their contemt of ſuperfluities is falſly reckon'd Poverty; ſince their felicity conſiſts not in having much, but in coveting little; and that he's ſupremely rich, who wants no more than he has: for as they, who live according to nature, will never be poor; ſo they, who live according to opinion, will never be rich. 'Tis certain that no body wants, what he does not deſire: and how much eaſier is it not to deſire certain things, than otherwiſe? as it is far more healthy and happy to want, than to injoy them. Neither is their ignorance of vices in theſe Ilands any diminution to their virtue, ſince (not being by their ſituation concern'd in any of the diſputes about dominion or commerce, that diſtract the world) they are not onely rigid obſervers of Juſtice, but ſhow leſs propenſity than any People to tumults; except what they may be unwarily led into by the extraordinary deference they pay to the opinion of their Chiefs and Leaders, who are accountable for the miſchiefs they ſometimes bring (as at this very (124) time) on theſe well-meaning HYPERBOREANS. For Hyperboreans I will now preſume to call them, and withall to claim ABARIS as a Philoſopher of the Brittiſh world, which has principally occaſion'd this Digreſſion; on that account not improper, nor, I hope, altogether uſeleſs in other reſpects. Be this as your Lordſhip ſhall think fit to judge, I will not finiſh it before I have acquainted you with an odd cuſtom or two, that have from time immemorial obtain'd in Barra and the leſſer circumjacent Ilands, which are the property of MAC-NEIL. The preſent is the thirty fifth Lord of Barra by uninterrupted lineal deſcent, a thing whereof no Prince in the world can boaſt: and he's regarded, you may imagine, as no mean potentate by his ſubjects, who know none greater than he. (125) When the wife of any of 'em dies, he has immediate recourſe to his Lord, repreſenting firſt his own loſs in the want of a meet help; and next that of MAC-NEIL himſelf, if he ſhould not go on to beget followers for him. Hereupon MAC-NEIL finds out a ſuteable match (neither ſide ever diſliking his choice, but accepting it as the higheſt favor) and the marriage is celebrated without any courtſhip, portion or dowry. But they never fail to make merry on ſuch occaſions with a bottle or more of Uſquebah. On the other hand, (126) when any woman becomes a widdow, ſhe's upon the like application ſoon provided with a husband, and with as little ceremony. Whoever may diſlike this Hyperborean manner of preventing delay, diſdain, or diſappointment, yet he cannot but approve MAC-NEIL's conduct, in ſupplying (127) any of his tenants with as many Milch-cows, as he may chance to loſe by the ſeverity of the weather, or by other miſfortunes; which is not the leſs true charity, for being good policy. Moſt worthy likewiſe of imitation is his taking into his own family (building a houſe hard by on purpoſe for them) and maintaining to the day of their death, as many old men, as, thro age or infirmity, (128) become unfit for labor. But I ſhou'd never have done, if I proceded with the particular uſages of the North and Weſt Ilanders. Several of them, retain'd from the remoteſt times of the Druids, are explain'd in this and the preceding Letters. Yet one cuſtom (very ſingular) I cannot help relating here, tho long ſince grown obſolete; or rather that it has been in diſuſe, ever ſince their converſion to Chriſtianity. When a man had a mind to have a wife, (129) as ſoon as he gain'd the conſent of the maid he lik'd, he took her to his bed and board for a whole year; and if, upon thus coming thoroly acquainted with the conditions both of her mind and body, he kept her any longer, ſhe then became his wife all her days: but if he diſlik'd her to ſuch a degree on any account, as to be perſwaded ſhe ſhou'd not make him eaſy during life, he return'd her (with her portion, if ſhe had any) at the twelve month's end to her parents or guardians; legitimating the children, and maintaining them at his own

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(123) Tantò plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his [*Graecis nimirum*] cognitio virtutis. JUSTIN. *Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

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(124) 1719.

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(125) MARTIN, *page* 97.
(126) Ibid.
(127) Ibid.

(128) Page 98.
(129) Page 114.

charge, in caſe there were ſuch. Nor was this repudiation any diſhonor or diſadvantage to the young woman in the eyes of another man, who thought ſhe wou'd make him a better wife, or that he might to her be a better husband. It was a cuſtom, I muſt own, like to prevent a world of unhappy matches: but, according to our modern ideas, 'tis not onely unlawful, but alſo barbarous.

IX. TO return whence I digreſs'd, having thus happily diſcover'd and aſſerted the country of ABARIS, and alſo his profeſſion of a *Druid*; I ſhall give here ſome account of his perſon, referring to another place the Hiſtory of his adventures. The Orator HIMERIUS, tho one of thoſe, who, from the equivocal ſenſe of the word *Hyperborean*, ſeems to have miſtaken him for a Scythian; yet accurately deſcribes his perſon, and gives him a very noble character. That he ſpoke Greek with ſo much facility and elegance, will be no matter of wonder to ſuch as conſider the antient intercourſe, which we have already prov'd between the Greecs and the Hyperboreans: nor wou'd the latter, to be ſure, ſend any ambaſſador (as we'll ſee preſently they did ABARIS) to the former, unleſs, among the other requiſite qualifications, he perfectly underſtood their language. But let's harken a while to HIMERIUS. *They relate*, ſays he, *that* ABARIS *the Sage was by nation a Hyperborean, become a Grecian in ſpeech, and re-*

reſembling a Scythian in his habit and appearance. Whenever he mov'd his tongue, you wou'd imagine him to be ſome one out of the midſt of the Academy or very Lyceum (130). Now that his habit was not that of a Scythian ever cover'd with skins, but what has been in all ages, as generally at this preſent, worn in the Hebrides and the neighboring Highlands, it needs onely to be deſcrib'd for removing all doubts and ſcruples. ABARIS *came to Athens*, continues (131) HIMERIUS, *holding a bow, having a quiver hanging from his ſhoulders, his body wrapt up in a plad, girt about his loins with a gilded belt, and wearing trowzers reaching from the ſoles of his feet to his waſte.* A gun and piſtol, being of modern date, cou'd make no part of his equipage: and you ſee he did not make his entry into Athens riding on a broom-ſtick, as fabulouſly reported, but in the native garb of an aboriginal Scot. As for what regards his abilities, 'twas impoſſible for his principals to have made a better choice; ſince we are inform'd by the ſame (132) Himerius, that *he was affable and pleaſant in converſation, in diſpatching great affairs ſecret and induſtrious, quick-ſighted in preſent exigences, in preventing future dangers circumſpect, a ſearcher after wiſdom, deſirous of friendſhip, truſting indeed little to fortune, and having every thing truſted to him for his prudence.* Neither the Academy nor the Lyceum cou'd furniſh out a man with fitter qualities, to go ſo farr abroad and to ſuch wiſe nations, about affairs no leſs arduous than important. But if we attentively conſider his moderation in eating, drinking, and the uſe of all thoſe things, which our natural appetites inceſſantly crave; adding the candor and ſimplicity of his manners, with the ſolidity and wiſdom of his anſwers (all which we'll find ſufficiently atteſted) it muſt be own'd, that the world at that time had few to compare with Abaris.

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(130) Αβαριν μεν σοφον γενος μεν ῾Υπερβορειον λεγουσιν, ῾Ελληνα δε φωνην γεγενησθαι, και Σκυθην μεν αχρι ϛολης δε και σχηματος. Ει δὲ που γλωτταν κινησειε, τουτο εκεινον εκ μεσης Ακαδημιας και αυτου Λυκειου νομιζεσθαι. *Ex Oratione ad* URSICIUM *apud* PHOTIUM *in Biblioth. cod.* 243, *edit. Rothomag. pag.* 1135.

(131) ῾Ηκεν Αβαρις ῾Αθηναζε τοξα εχων, φαρετραν ἡμμενος εις ωμων, χλαμυδι σφιγγομενος: ζωνη ην κατ᾽ ιξυων χρυση, αναξυρὶδες εκ ταρσων ακρων αχρι και γλουτων ανατεινουσαι. *Id. ibid.*

THUS I have laid before your Lordship a Specimen of my Hiſtory of the Druids. Give me leave to ſend you with this Letter two ſmall Pieces which I don't doubt will be agreeable to you. One is Mr. *Jones*'s *Anſwer to* Mr. *Tate*'s *Queſtions about the Druids, and the other Britiſh Antiquities,* which I tranſcrib'd from a Manuſcript in the Cotton Library (133); and the other, ſome Collections mention'd in one of my Letters (134), ſhewing the Affinity between the Armoric and Iriſh Language, *&c.* I am,

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(132) Ην ἡδυς ειτυχειν, δεινος ἡσυχη μεγαλην πραξιν εργασασθαι, οξυς το παρον ιδειν, προμηθης το μελλον φυλαττεσθαι, σοφιας ἡττων, εραστης φιλιας, ολιγα μεν τυχη πιστευων, γνωμη δε τα παντα πιστουμενος. *Id. ibid.*

MY LORD,

April, 18. 1719.

Your Lordſhip's moſt
oblig'd and very
humble Servant.

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(133) Vitel. E. v. 6.

(134) Letter II, §. 18. pag. 112.

MR. *TATE*'s QUESTIONS
ABOUT THE
DRUIDS
AND OTHER
BRITTISH ANTIQUITIES,
WITH
Mr. JONES's ANSWER
TO THEM.

Mr. TATE's QUESTIONS.

I. BY what names were they call'd by the Brittons, which the Latins call *Druidae* or *Druides?*

II. Whether the *Druids* and *Flamens* were all one, and the difference between them? how the

Flamens were called in Brittiſh, and their antiquity and habits?

III. WHAT Degrees were given to the Profeſſors of Learning? when, where, and by whom, and their habits or apparel?

IV. WHETHER the *Barth* had any office in war anſwering our Heralds? their garments and enſeigns? and whether they us'd the *Caduceus?* many fetching the original thereof from the Britton's charming of ſerpents.

V. WHAT Judges and Lawyers had the Brittons that follow'd the King? and what are *Tri anhepcor Brenhin*, and their uſe?

VI. WHAT Judges and Lawyers were there reſident in the Country? their number? what Judges were there *per dignitatem Terrae?* and what their duty? and how were they aſſembl'd to do the ſame?

VII. IT appeareth there were always many Kings and Princes in this Realm before the coming in of the Saxons: were their countries divided into *Talaiths*, as all between Severn and the Sea was after their coming?

VIII. WAS there any diviſion into Shires before the Saxon's coming, and what difference betwixt a Shire and a *Swydh?* There were anciently with you *Maenors*, *Commods*, *Cantreths*, anſwerable wherunto are our *Manors*, *Tythings*, *Hundreds*. And that maketh me to encline that *Swydh* ſhou'd be like our Shire, as *Swyd caer Bhyrdin*, *Swyd Amwythig*, *Swyd caer Wrangon*; and the General

Officers of them were called *Swydogion*, under whom were *Maer*, *Gnghellawr*, *Rhinghill*, *Ophiriat*, and *Brawdur trwyr Swyd*, except all bear the name of *Swydogion*. I find in an ancient Book of Landaff *Gluiguis* or *Glivisus* King of Demetia (which of this King is call'd *Glenguiſſig*) of whom it is ſaid *ſeptem pagos rexit*, whereof *Glamorgan*, now a Shire, was one; and *pagus* is us'd for a Shire.

IX. WHETHER the Britons had Noblemen bearing the name of *Duces*, *Comites*, *Barones?* and what they were called in Brittiſh? In the Book of Landaff I find it thus written, *Gandeleius Rex totam regionem ſuam Cadoco filio ſuo commendavit, privilegiumque conceſſit, quatenus a fonte Faennun haen donec ad ingreſſum fluminis Nadavan pervenitur, omnes Reges et Comites, Optimates, Tribuni, atque domeſtici in Coenobij ſui coemeterio de Lancarvan ſepeliantur*. And K. Ed. I. enquiring of the Laws of the Britons, demandeth how the Welſh *Barons* did adminiſter juſtice, and ſo diſtinguiſht them from *Lords Marchers*.

X. WHAT is the ſignification of the word *Aſſach?* A ſtatute of K. Hen. 6. ſaith, ſome offer'd to excuſe themſelves by an *Aſſach* after the cuſtom of Wales; that is to ſay, by an oath of 30 men.

XI. WHAT officer is he that in the Laws of *Howel Da* is called *Diſtein*, and the ſignification of the word?

XII. WHAT do you think of this place of Petrus Ramus in his book *de moribus veterum Gallorum: Hae civitates Brutos ſuos habebant. Sic a Caeſare nominantur Senatus Eburonicum, Lexobiorum, Venetorum.* Was there any Counſil or Senate in the Brittiſh Government, and by what name were they call'd?

Mr. JONES's ANSWERS

TO

Mr. TATE's QUESTIONS.

I. TO the firſt I ſay, that *Druides* or *Druidae* is a word that is derived from the Brittiſh word *Drudion*; being the name of certain wiſe, diſcreet, learned, and religious Perſons among the Brittons. *Drudion* is the plural number of this primitive word *Drud.* By adding *ion* to the ſingular number, you make the plural of it *ſecundum formam Britannorum*; ſic *Drud, Drudion.* This primitive word *Drud* has many ſignifications. One ſignification is *Dialwr*, that is a revenger, or one that redreſſeth wrong: for ſo the Juſticers call'd *Drudión* did ſupply the place of Magiſtrates. Another ſignification *Krevlon*, and that ſignifies cruel and mercileſs; for they did execute juſtice moſt righteouſly, and puniſht offendors moſt ſeverely. *Drud* ſignifies alſo *glew* and *prid*, that is, valiant or hardy. *Drud* is alſo dear or precious, unde venit *Drudanieth*, which is Dearth. Theſe *Drudion* among the Brittons by their office did determine all kind of matters as well private as publick, and were Juſticers as well in religious matters and controverſies, as in Law matters and controverſies, for offences of death and title of Laws. Theſe did the ſacrifices to the Heathen Gods, and the ſacrifices cou'd not be made without them, and they did forbid ſacrifices to be done by any man that did not obey their decree and ſentence. All the Arts, Sciences, Learning, Philoſophy, and Divinity that was taught in the land, was taught by them; and they taught by memory, and never wou'd that their knowledge and learning ſhou'd be put in writing: whereby when they were ſuppreſt by the Emperor of Rome in the beginning of Chriſtianity, their Learning, Arts, Laws, Sacrifices, and Governments were loſt and extinguiſht here in this land; ſo that I can find no more mention of any of their deeds in our tongue than I have ſet down, but that they dwelled in rocks, and woods, and dark places, and ſome places in our land had their names from them, and are called after their names to this day. And the Iland of *Mone* or Angleſea is taken to be one of their chiefeſt ſeats in Britain, becauſe it was a ſolitary Iland full of wood, and not in-

inhabited of any but themſelves; and then the Ile of Mone, which is called Angleſea, was called *yr Inys Dowyll*, that is, the dark Iland. And after that the *Drudion* were ſupreſt, the huge groves which they favor'd and kept a-foot, were rooted up, and that ground till'd. Then that Iland did yield ſuch abundance and plenty of corn, that it might ſuſtain and keep all Wales with bread; and therefore there aroſe then a proverb, and yet is to this day, viz. *Mon mam Gymbrv*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Wales. Some do term the proverb thus, *Mon mam Wynedd*, that is, *Mon* the mother of Northwales, that is, that *Mon* was able to nouriſh and foſter upon bread all Wales or Northwales. And after that this dark Iland had caſt out for many years ſuch abundance of corn where the diſclos'd woods and groves were, it ſurceas'd to yield corn, and yielded ſuch plenty of graſs for cattle, that the Countrymen left off their great tilling, and turn'd it to grazing and breeding of cattle, and that did continue among them wonderful plentiful, ſo that it was an admirable thing to be heard, how ſo little a plat of ground ſhou'd breed ſuch great number of cattle; and now the inhabitants do till a great part of it, and breed a great number of cattle on t'other part.

II. AS for the ſecond Queſtion, I do refer the expoſition of it to thoſe that have written of the *Flamens* in Latine. The *Drudion* in Britain, according to their manner and cuſtom, did execute the office and function of the *Flamens* beyond the ſea: and as for their habits, I cannot well tell you how, nor what manner they were of.

III. TO the third Queſtion: There were four ſeveral kinds of Degrees, that were given to the Profeſſors of Learning. The firſt was, *Diſgibliysbas*, and that was given a man after three years ſtudying in the art of Poetry and Muſick, if he by his capacity did deſerve it. The ſecond degree was *Diſgibldiſgybliaidd*, and that was given to the Profeſſor of Learning after ſix years ſtudying, if he did deſerve it. The third degree was *Diſgiblpenkerddiaidd*; and that was given to the Profeſſor of Learning after nine years ſtudying, if he did deſerve it. And the fourth degree was *Penkerdd* or *Athro*, and *Athro* is the higheſt degree of Learning among us, and in Latine is called Doctor. All theſe degrees were given to men of Learning as well Poets as Muſicians. All theſe foreſaid degrees of Learning were given by the King, or in his preſence in his Palace, at every three years end, or by a Licenſe from him in ſome fit place thereunto (appointed) upon an open diſputation had before the King or his Deputy in that behalf, and then they were to have their reward according to their degrees. Alſo there were three kinds of Poets. The one was *Prududd*: the other was *Tevluwr*: the third was *Klerwr*. Theſe three kinds had three ſeveral matters to treat of. The *Prududd* was to treat of Lands, and the praiſe of Princes, Nobles, and Gentlemen, and had his circuit among them. The *Tevluwr* did treat of merry jeſts, and domeſtical paſtimes and affairs, having his circuit among the Countrymen, and his reward according to his calling. The *Clerwr* did treat of invective and ruſtical Poetry, differing from the *Prududd* and *Tevluwr*; and his circuit was among the Yeomen of the Country. As for their habits, they were certain long apparel down to the calf of their leggs or ſomewhat lower, and were of diverſe colours.

IV. TO the fourth Queſtion I ſay, the *Bard* was a Herald to record all the acts of the Princes and Nobles, and to give arms according to deſerts. They were alſo Poets, and cou'd prognoſticate certain things, and gave them out in metre. And further there were three kinds of *Beirdd* (the plural of *Bardd*) viz. *Privardd*, *Poſwardd*, *Arwyddvardd*. The *Priveirdd* (plurally) were *Merlin Silveſter*, *Merlin Ambroſius*, and *Talieſſin*; and the reaſon they were call'd *Priveirdd* was, becauſe they invented and taught ſuch Philoſophy and other Learning as were never read or heard of by any man before. The interpretation of this word *Privardd* is Prince, or firſt learner, or learned man: for *Bardd* was an appellation of all learned men, and profeſſors of Learning, and Prophets, as alſo were attributed to them the titles of *Privardd*, *Poſvardd*, and *Arwyddvard*. *Bardd Telyn*. And they call *Merlin Ambroſius* by the name of *Bardd Gortheyrn*, that is, *Vortiger's Philoſopher*, or *learned man*, or *Propheſyer*. *Bardd Telyn* is he that is Doctor of the Muſicians of the Harp, and is the chief harp in the Land, having his abode in the King's palace: and note no man may be called *Privardd*, but he that inventeth ſuch Learning, and Arts, or Science, as were never taught before. The ſecond kind of *Bardd* is *Poſvardd*, and thoſe *Poſveirdd* were afterwards *Prydiddion*: for they did imitate and teach what the *Priveirdd* had ſet forth, and muſt take their author from one of them; for they themſelves are no Authors, but regiſters and propagators of the Learning invented by the others. The third kind is *Arwyddvard*, that is by interpretation an *Enſign-bard*, and indeed is a Herald at Arms; and his duty was to declare the Genealogy and to blazon the Arms of Nobles and Princes, and to keep the record of them, and to alter their Arms according to their dignity or deſerts. Theſe were with the Kings and Princes in all battles and actions. As for their Garments, I think they were long, ſuch as the *Prydiddion* had; for they challenge the name of *Beirdd* ut ſupra. Whereas ſome writers, and for the moſt part all foreners that mention the *Beirdd*, do write that *Bard* has his name given him from one *Bardus*, who was the firſt inventor of

Barddonieth, and ſome ſay he was the fourth King of Brittain; I ſay it is a moſt falſe, erroneous, and fabulous ſurmiſe of foren writers, for there never was any of that name either a King or King's ſon of Brittain. But there was a great ſcholar and inventor both of Poetical verſes and muſical Leſſons that was ſome time King of Brittain. His name was *Blegywryd ap Geiſyllt*, and he was the 56th ſupreme King of Great Brittain, and dy'd in the 2067th year after the deluge, of whom it is written that he was the famouſeſt Muſician that ever lived in Britain. No writer can ſhow that *Bard* had his name from *Bardus*, it being a primitive Brittiſh word that has the foreſayd ſignifications. And *Barddonieth* (which is the art, function, and profeſſion of the *Bardd*) is alſo us'd for Propheſy and the interpretation thereof, and alſo for all kinds of Learning among us that the *Beirdd* were authors of.

V. AS for the fifth Queſtion, the King had always a chief Judge reſident in his Court, ready to decide all controverſies that then happen'd, and he was called *Egnat Llys*. He had ſome privilege given him by the King's houſhold officers, and therefore he was to determine their cauſes gratis. As for the *tri anhebkor brenin*, I think it ſuperfluous to treat of them here, ſeeing you have this matter in my Book of Laws more perfect than I can remember it at this time. Look in the Table among the *trioedd kyfraith*, and thoſe are ſet down in two or three ſeveral places of the Book. And if you cannot find it there, ſee in the office of *Egnat Llys*, or *Pen tevlu*, or *yffeiriaid llys*, and you'll be ſure to find it in ſome of thoſe places. I do not find in my Book of Laws, that there were any officers for the Law that did dwell in the King's Palace, but onely his *Egnat Llys*, that was of any name, or bore any great office: for he was one of the *tri anhebkor brenin*.

VI. AS for the ſixth Queſtion, I ſay that there were reſident in the Country but *Egnat Comot*, that I can underſtand. But when an Aſſembly met together for the title of Lands, then the King in his own Perſon came upon the Land; and if he cou'd not come, he appointed ſome Deputy for him. There came with the King his chief Judge, and called unto him his *Egnat Komot*, or County-Judge, together with ſome of his Council that dwelt in the *Komot*, where the Lands lay that were in the controverſy, and the Free-holders alſo of the ſame Place, and there came a Prieſt or Prelate, two Counſellors, and two *Rhingill* or Serjeants, and two Champions, one for the Plaintiff and another for the Defendant; and when all theſe were aſſembled together, the King or his Deputy viewed the Land, and when they had viewed it, they cauſed a round Mount to be caſt up, and upon the ſame was the Judgment Seat placed, having his back toward the ſun or the weather. Some of theſe Mounts were made ſquare and ſome round, and both round and ſquare bore the name of *Gorſeddevy dadle*, that is, the Mount of Pleading. Some alſo have the name of him that was chief Judge or Deputy to the King in that judicial Seat; and it was not lawful to make an aſſembly no where for title of Lands, but upon the Lands that were in controverſy. Theſe *Gorſedde* are in our Country, and many other places to be ſeen to this day; and will be ever, if they be not taken down by men's hands. They had two ſorts of Witneſſes, the one was *Gwybyddyeid*, and the other *Ambiniogev*. The *Gwybyddyeid* were ſuch men as were born in the *Komot*, where the Lands that were in controverſy lay, and of their own perfect knowledge did know that it was the Defendants right. And *Ambiniogev* were ſuch men as had their Lands mearing on the Lands that were in controverſy, and hemmed up that Land. And the Oath of one of thoſe *Ambiniogev*, otherwiſe called *Keidweid*, was better than the Oath of twain that were but *Gwybyddyeid*. Look in the Table of my Book of Laws for the definition of *Keidweid*, *Ambiniogev*, and *Gwybyddyeid*, and how the King did try his Cauſes; and that will manifeſt it more at large. The *Mayer* and the *Kangellawr* had no authority amongſt the Brittons for any lands but the Kings lands; and they were to ſet it and let it, and to have their circuit amongſt the King's tenants; and they did decide all Controverſies that happened amongſt them. Vide in the Table of my Book of Laws for the Definition of *Mayer* and *Kangellawr*.

VII. TO the ſeventh Queſtion, I ſay that there were in this Land about a hundred ſuperial Kings, that governed this Land ſucceſſively; that were of the Brittiſh blood: yet notwithſtanding there were under them divers other Princes that had the name of Kings, and did ſerve, obey, and belong to the ſuperial King, as the King of *Alban* or *Prydyn* or Scotland, the King of *Kymbery* or Wales, the King of *Gwneydd* or Venedotia. Yet notwithſtanding the ſame law and government was uſed in every Prince or King's dominion, as was in the ſuperial King's proper dominion; unleſs it were that ſome Cuſtom or Privilege did belong to ſome place of the Kingdom more than to another: and every inferiour King was to execute the Law upon all tranſgreſſors that offended in their dominion.

In the time of Kaſſibelanus there aroſe ſome controverſy between the ſuperial King Kaſwallawne and Ararwy King of London, one of his inferior Kings, about a murther committed. The caſe is thus. The ſuperial King keeping his Court within the dominion of one of the inferior Kings, a controverſy falling between twain within the Court, and there and then one was ſlain, the Queſtion is, Whether the murtherer ought to be tryed by the officers and privilege of the ſuperior King, or of the inferior King. I think that the murtherer ought to be tried by the Law and Cuſtom of the inferior King's Court, becauſe it is more ſeemly that the ſuperior King's Court, which did indure in that Country but a week or twain, or ſuch like time, ſhould loſe his privilege there for that time, than the inferior King's Court ſhould loſe it for ever. *Vide in libro meo de legibus.* It may ſeem to thoſe that have judgment in hiſtories, that this was the very cauſe that Ararwy would not have his kinſman tried by the Judges and Laws or privilege of Kaſwallawne, whoſe Court did remain in the dominion of Ararwy but a little while, but would have the felon tried by his Judges and his Court. There is no mention made of *Talaith* any where amongſt the Brittons before the deſtruction of Brittain, but that there were in Brittain but one ſuperial Crown and three *Talaith* or Coronets or Prince's Crowns; one for the Alban, another for Wales, and the third for *Kerniw* or Kornwale. There were divers others called Kings which never wore any Crown or Coronet, as the Kings of *Dyved* in South Wales, the King of *Kredigion*, and ſuch, and yet were called Kings, and their Countries were divided as you ſhall ſee in the next Queſtion.

VIII. TO the eighth Queſtion, I ſay, that according to the primitive Law of this Land, that *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* made, for before the Laws of *Dyfnwal Moel Mvd* the Trojan laws and cuſtoms were uſed in this Land, and we cannot tell what diviſion of Lands they had, nor what officers but the *Druidion*, he divided all this Land according to this manner, thus: *Trihud y gronin haidd*, or thrice the length of one Barly Corn maketh a *Modvedd* or inch, three *Modvedd* or Inches maketh a *Palf* or a Palm of the hand, three *Palf* or Palm maketh a *Troedvedd* or foot, 3 feete or *Troedvedd* maketh a *Kam* or Pace or a ſtride, 3 *Kam* or ſtrides to the *Naid* or leape, 3 *Naid* or leape to the *Grwmg*, that is, the breadth of a Butt of Land or *Tir*; and *mil* of thoſe *Tir* maketh *Miltir*, that is, a thouſand *Tir* or mile. And that was his meaſure for length which hath been uſed from that time to this day; and yet, and for ſuperficial meaſuring he made 3 *hud gronin haidd*, or Barley Corn length, to the *Modvedd*, or Inch, 3 *Modvedd* or Inch to the *Palf* or hand breadth, 3 *Palf* to the *Troedvedd* or foot, 4 *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Veriav* or the ſhort yoke, 8 *Troedvedd* or foot to the *Neidiav*, and 12 *Troedvedd* or foot in the *Geſſtiliav* and 16 *Troedvedd* in the *Hiriav*. And a Pole or Rod ſo long, that is 16 foot long, is the breadth of an Acre of Land, and 30 Poles or Rods of that length, is the length of an *Erw* or Acre by the Law, and four *Erw* or Acre maketh a *Tyddyn* or Meſſuage, and four of that *Tyddyn* or Meſſuage maketh a *Rhandir*, and four of thoſe *Rhandiredd* maketh a *Gafel* or Tenement or Hoult, and four *Gafel* maketh a *Tref* or Townſhip, and four *Tref* or Townſhips maketh a *Maenol* or *Maenor*, and twelve *Maenol* or *Maenor* and *dwy dref* or two Townſhips maketh a *Kwmwd* or *Gomot*, and two *Kwmwd* or *Gomot* maketh a *Kantref* or *Cantred*, that is a hundred Towns or Townſhips. And by this reckoning every *Tyddyn* containeth four *Erw*, every *Rhandir* containeth ſixteen *Erw*, and every *Gafel* containeth ſixty four *Erw*. Every Town or Townſhip containeth two hundred fifty ſix *Erw* or Acres, theſe *Erws* being fertile arable Land, and neither meadow nor paſture nor woods. For there was nothing meaſured but fertile arable ground, and all others was termed waſtes. Every *Maenol* containeth four of theſe Townſhips, and every *Kwmwd* containeth fifty of theſe Townſhips, and every *Cantred* a hundred of theſe Townſhips, whereof it hath its name. And all the Countries and Lords dominions were divided by *Cantreds* or *Cantre*, and to every of theſe *Cantreds*, *Gomots*, *Maenors*, *Towns*, *Gafels* were given ſome proper names. And *Gwlad* or Countrey was the dominion of one Lord or Prince, whether the *Gwlad* were one *Cantred* or two, or three or four, or more. So that when I ſay he is gone from *Gwlad* to *Gwlad*, that is, from Countrey to Countrey, it is meant that he is gone from one Lord or Prince's dominion to another Prince's dominion; as for example, when a man committeth an offence in *Gwynedd* or *Northwales*, which containeth ten *Cantreds*, and fleeth or goeth to *Powys*, which is the name of another Country and Prince's dominion, which containeth ten other *Cantreds*, he is gone from one Country or dominion to another, and the Law cannot be executed upon him, for he is gone out of the Country. *Tegings* is a Country and containeth but one Cantred, and *Dyfrvn Glwyd* was a Country, and did contain but one *Cantred.* And when any did go out of *Tegings* to *Dyfrvn Glwyd*, for to flee from the law, he went out from one Country to another. And ſo every Prince or Lord's dominion was *Gwlad* or Country to that Lord or Prince, ſo that *Gwlad* is *Pagus* in my judgment. Sometimes a Cantred doth contain two Comot, ſometimes three, or four, or five; as the *Cantreſe* of Glamorgan or *Morganwg* containeth five Comots. And after that the Normans had won ſome parts of the Country, as one Lord's dominion, they conſtituted in that ſame place a Seneſcal or Steward, and that was called in the Brittiſh tongue *Swyddog*, that is an Officer; and the Lordſhip that he was Steward of was called *Swydd* or Office, and of theſe *Swyddev* were made Shires. And *Gwydd* is an Office be it great or ſmall, and *Swyddog* is an Officer likewiſe of all ſtates; as a Sheriff is a *Swyddog*, his Sheriff-ſhip or Office, and the Shire whereof he is Sheriff, is called *Swydd.* So that *Swydd* doth contain as well the Shire as the Office of a Sheriff, as *Swydd Amwythig* is the Shire or Office of the Steward, Seneſcal, or Sheriff of Salop, &c.

IX. AS for the ninth Queſtion, The greateſt and higheſt degree was *Brenin*, or *Teyen*, that is, a King; and next to him was a *Twyſog*, that is a Duke; and next to him was a *Jarll*, that is an Earl; and next to him was an *Arglwydd*, that is a Lord; and next to him was a *Barwn*, and that I read leaſt of. And next to that is the *Breir* or *Vchelwr*, which may be called the Squire: next to this is a *Gwreange*, that is a Yeoman; and next to that is an *Alttud*; and next to that a *Kaeth*, which is a Slave; and that is the meaneſt amongſt theſe nine ſeveral Degrees. And theſe nine Degrees had three ſeveral tenures of Lands, as *Maerdir*, *Vchelordir*, *Priodordir*. There be alſo other names and degrees, which be gotten by birth, by office and by dignity; but they all are contained under the nine aforeſaid Degrees.

X. AS for the tenth Queſtion, I do not find nor have not read neither to my knowledge, in any Chronicle, Law, Hiſtory or Poetry, and Dictionary, any ſuch word: but I find in the Laws and Chronicles, and in many other places this word *Rhaith* to be uſed for the oath of 100 men, or 200 or 300, or ſuch like number, for to excuſe ſome heinous fact;

and the more heinous was the fact, the more men muſt be had in the *Rhaith* to excuſe it; and one muſt be a chief man to excuſe it amongſt them, and that is called *Penrhaith*, as it were the foreman of the Jury, and he muſt be the beſt, wiſeſt, and diſcreeteſt of all the others. And to my remembrance the *Rhaithwyr*, that is the Men of the *Rhaith*, muſt be of thoſe that are next of kin, and beſt known to the ſuppoſed offender, to excuſe him for the fact.

XI. AS for the eleventh Queſtion, I ſay that I find a Steward and a Controller to be uſed for a *Diſtain* in my *Dictionary*. I cannot find any greater definition given it any where, then is given it in my Book of Laws. Vide *Diſtaine*, in the Table of my Book of Laws.

XII. TO the twelfth Queſtion, I ſay, that the Brittons had many Councils, and had their Counſellors ſcatter'd in all the Lordſhips of the Land. And when any controverſy or occaſion of Counſel happen'd in *Swynedd*, the King called his Counſellors that had their abode there, for to counſel for matters depending there, together with thoſe that were there of his Court or Guard: for the King had his chief Judge and certain of his Council always in his company; and when the King had any occaſion of Counſel for matters depending in Demetia, or Powys, or Cornwal, he called thoſe of his Counſel that dwelled in thoſe coaſts for to counſel with them. And they went to a certain private houſe or tower on a top of a hill, or ſome ſolitary place of counſel far diſtant from any dwelling, and there adviſed unknown to any man but to the Counſellors themſelves; and if any great alteration or need of counſel were, that did pertain to all the land, then the King aſſited unto him all his Counſellors to ſome convenient place for to take their advice; and that happen'd but very ſeldom.

Catalogus *vocum quarundam* Armoricarum *quas* Hibernicas *eſſe deprehendi, quaſque ex libello quem mihi mutuo dedit Cl. et Rev. Dominus, Dominus* Jo. Millius *S. S. T. in Academia Oxonienſi P. ibidemque Aulæ Sanct. Edmundanæ Principalis, collegi et deſumpſi.*

BRITTANNI Armorici Angliam *Bro-ſaos* vocant, hoc eſt, Saxonum patriam; quo nomine paululum variato, Hiberni idem regnum indigitare ſolent: et ipſos incolas *Clan na Saſſanach*, id eſt, Saxones; ad verbum verò *Saxonum filios*, appellant.

Hibernis gentilis ſermo *Gaolac* dicitur, quod idem ſonat ſignificatque, ac Armoricorum *Gallec*, qua voce Gallorum linguam in hodiernum uſque diem intelligunt, ut in ambarum gentium ſcriptis videre eſt.

Etiamſi in ſequenti Parallelo aliquando litteræ et ſyllabæ quædam non levem diſcrepantiam præ ſe ferre videantur; eadem tamen illis eſt poteſtas, et ſonus idem. Sic *at*, *aff*, et *es* finales Armoricæ, reſpondent *ach*, *agh*, et *as* Hibernicis. *Guy* initialis cum *ſi*, *b* cum *p*, *d* cum *t*, *f* cum *v* ſæpiſſimè commutantur.

Sed de hiſce fuſiùs, et ſimilis argumenti omnibus, in Diſſertatione, quam de veterum Lingua Gallorum, cùm primùm Romanorum arma experti ſunt, annuente ſummo numine, ſcripturi ſumus.

Oxoniæ, 19 *Decembris*, *Anno*
à Chriſto nato,
1693.

ARMORICE.	HIBERNICE.	LATINE.	
Iſel.	*Iſeal.*	Humilis.	
Iſelhat.	*Iſealacht.*	Humiliatio.	
Oan.	*Uan.*	Agnus.	
Oanic.	*Uanin.*	Agnellus.	
Flem.	*Flemh* *.	Aculeus.	
Den.	*Duine.*	Homo.	Aε
Denbihan.	*Duinebuineach.*	Homuncio.	
Caret.	*Caraid* †.	Amicus.	
Carantes.	*Carrantas* ‖.	Amicitia.	
Guyr.	*Coir.*	Jus.	
Hirrahat.	*Direachagh.*	Elongatio.	
Bloaz.	*Bliaghuin.*	Annus.	An [illegible]

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* *Gath* etiam Hibernicè.

† *Cara* Hibernis Auſtralibus.

‖ *Cardis* etiam Hibernicè.

Anſer

Amſer.	*Amſeir.*	Tempus.
Gronan.	*Gruan* *.	Arena.
Aſen.	*Aſſil.*	Aſinus.
Dall.	*Dall.*	Cæcus.
Dallaf.	*Dallagh.*	Cæcitas.
Gonalen.	*Gualun.*	Humerus.
Querch.	*Coire.*	Avena.
Ives.	*Ives.*	Etiam.
Guilé.	*Oilé.*	Alius.
Pocq.	*Póg.*	Oſculum.
Scubellen.	*Scuab.*	Stopa.
Scubaf.	*Scuabagh.*	Verrere, Scopa.
Lezron.	*Leaſrach.*	Femora.
Mat.	*Maith.*	Bonus.
Matgræt.	*Maithghnioth.*	Beneficium.
Madelez.	*Maitheas.*	Bonitas.
Cam.	*Cam.*	Curvus.
Ber.	*Bear.*	Veru.
Loſq.	*Loſcath.*	Uſtio.
Quarrec.	*Carric.*	Rupes.
Gouris.	*Cris.*	Cingulum.
Ludu.	*Luoth.*	Cinis.
Codoer.	*Caithir.*	Cathedra.
Caboun.	*Cabun.*	Capo.
Glaouen.	*Gualan.*	Carbo.
Moall.	*Maoil.*	Calvus.
Derven.	*Dair* †.	Quercus.
Gaor.	*Gaur.*	Caper.
Enn ty me.	*An ma thi.*	In Domo mea.
Quy.	*Cu.*	Canis venaticus.
Caoll.	*Cál.*	Braſſica.

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* *Ganibh* etiam Hibernicè.

† Unde forte *droi* Druides, *doire* nemus.

Ancuff.

Ancuff.	*Nemh.*	Cœlum.
Coar.	*Ceir.*	Cera.
Garan.	*Garagh.*	
Taig.	*Tairné.*	Clavus.
Coulm.	*Coluim.*	Columba.
Evel, eguis	*Evail, eguis*	Ut.
Quillocq.	*Cuilloch.*	Gallus Gallinaceus.
Ilin.	*Illin.*	
Aer.	*Athir.*	Coluber.
Læs.	*Lis.*	Domus regia.
Guiriff.	*Gurigh.*	Ova ponere.
Goloff.	*Foluigh.*	Tegere.
Croüezr.	*Criathar.*	Cribra.
Cridiff.	*Credimh.*	Credere.
Creven.	*S'creavog.*	Cruſta.
Creiz.	*Cré.*	Lutum.
Lezr.	*Leathir.*	Corium.
Dlé.	*Dliagh.*	Debitum.
Dref.	*Deregh.*	Ponè.
Diaoüll.	*Diabhil.*	Diabolus.
Lavaret.	*Lauairt.*	Loqui.
A creis.	*A chreis.*	E medio.
Droue.	*Droch.*	Malus.
Mezuiff.	*Miſce.*	Ebrius.
Choar.	*Seuar.*	Soror.
Tremenguæ.	*Dremire.*	Scala.
Clezeu.	*Claiau.*	Gladius.
Teoahat.	*Tiuhact.*	Spiſſitas.
Ober.	*Obuir.*	Opus.
Tan.	*Tinne.*	Ignis.
Map.	*Mac.*	Filius.
Moch.	*Muc.*	Porcus.

Sæz.	*Súſte.*	
Dinerz.	*Dineart.*	Imbecillis.
Nerz.	*Neart.*	Vis.
Poull.	*Poll.*	Foſſa, puteus.
Delyou.	*Duillog.*	Folium.
Techet.	*Tethagh.*	Fugere.
Glin.	*Glun.*	Genu.
Croucq.	*Croith.*	Patibulum.
Stut.	*Sdiuir.*	Navis gubernaculum.
Greunen.	*Granin.*	Granum.
Bloanec.	*Blunic.*	Pinguedo.
Eurmat.	*Uairmhàith.*	Auſpicium.
Hoary.	*Uavar.*	Ludus.
Eneſen.	*Inis.*	Inſula.
Teant.	*Teangha.*	Lingua.
Ledan.	*Lethan.*	Largus.
Lenfr.	*Leabhár.*	Liber.
Dorn.	*Dorn.*	Pugnus.
Ty.	*Ti*[*].	Domus.
Claf.	*Clabh.*	Æger.
Drouchoberer.	*Drochobri.*	Maleficus.
Læſmam.	*Leaſmhathir.*	Noverca.
Mintin.	*Madin.*	Mane.
Mor.	*Muir*[†].	Mare.
Trugarez.	*Trocare.*	Miſericordia.
Coch.	*Cac.*	Merda.
Quemeſq.	*Meaſcagh.*	Miſcere.
Offeren.	*Aiffrin*[‖].	Miſſa.
Manach.	*Manach.*	Monachus.

[*] *Deac* etiam Hibernicè.

[†] *Morh* et *Moir* etiam.

[‖] Haud dubium quin a Latino *offero* deducendum ſit.

Mis.

Mis.	*Mi.*	Menſis.
Boucq.	*Bog.*	Mollis.
Maru.	*Marv.*	Mortuus.
Bugale.	*Buachvill.*	Puerulus.
Quelgeuen.	*Cuileog.*	Muſca.
Guenell.	*Gineal.*	Naſci.
Nedelec.	*Nolluic.*	Nativitatis Chriſti feſtum.
Du.	*Du.*	Niger.
Duat.	*Duach.*	Nigredo.
Craouen.	*Croa.*	Nuces.
Beuzet.	*Baite.*	Merſus.
Ui.	*Ui* vel *Oi.*	Ovum.
Pluſquen.	*Bluſc.*	
Pluſquen un ui	*Bluſc na hui.*	
Ezn.	*Ean.*	Avis.
Eznic.	*Eanin.*	Avicula.
Eznetaër.	*Eanadair.*	Auceps.
Diegus.	*Diabhuin.*	Otioſus.
Læſhann.	*Leaſainm.*	Cognomen.
Ivin.	*Ighuin.*	Unguis.
Colo.	*Calog.*	Palea.
Bara.	*Aran.*	Panis.
Rannaff.	*Rannagh.*	Dividere.
Quetren.	*Keavrin.*	Particula.
Golven.	*Galvun.*	Paſſer.
Crochen.	*Crocean.*	Pellis.
Crib.	*Cir* *.	Pecten.
Collet.	*Cailte.*	Perditus.
Tat.	*Athair.*	Pater.
Bram.	*Brim.*	Ventris crepitus.

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* Hiberni etiam dicunt *Criban.*

Troat.	*Troith.*	Pes.
Truez.	*Truaighe.*	Compaſſio.
Leun.	*Lán.*	Plenus.
Gouelaff.	*Gulagh.*	Flere.
Goueluan.	*Gulan.*	Fletus.
Aval.	*Avull.*	Malus, arbor.
Squevent.	*Scavan.*	Pulmo.
Breinaff.	*Breanagh.*	Putreſcere, fœtere.
Breïn.	*Brein.*	Putidus.
Doüin.	*Dovuin.*	Profundus.
Queiguel.	*Cuigeal.*	Colus.
Scuillaf.	*Scuileagh.*	Solvere.
Segal.	*Segul.*	Secale.
Bouzar.	*Bovar.*	Surdus.
Logoden.	*Luchog.*	Mus.
Tarus.	*Tarv.*	Taurus.
Guyader.	*Fiadoir.*	Textor.
Lien.	*Lian.*	Linteum.
Bieuch.	*Beach.*	Beſtia *.
Levé.	*Laoi.*	Vitulus.
Glas.	*Glas.*	Viridis.
Guyrionez.	*Fiorionta s.*	Veritas.
Bouët.	*Biath.*	Cibus.
Beu.	*Beo.*	Vivus.
Seuzl.	*Sál.*	Calx pedis.
Amman.	*Eim.*	Butyrus.
Olen.	*S'olun.*	Sal.
Louſaouen.	*Lus, Luſſan.*	Herba.
Miſmeurz.	*Mimairt.*	Menſis Martius.
Miſeprell.	*Miobreal.*	Aprilis †.
Miſmeſuen.	*Mimheaſvach.*	Junius ‖.

* Speciatim Vacca Armoricis.

† Operarius. } Menſis.
‖ Formoſus. }

Miſ

Miſgouaré.	*Miguaré.*	Julius *.
Miſguengolò.	*Miſinſoloi.*	September †.
Miſttezré.	*Miheaſri.*	October ‖.
Miſdu.	*Mi dhu.*	November ‡.
Meſquerdu.	*Michrumdu.*	December **.
Miſguenuer.	*Micainvair.*	Januarius ††.
Miſcheurer.	*Michuir.*	Februarius *.
Sizun.	*Seachtuin.*	Septimana.
Dillun.	*Dealluin.*	Dies Lunæ.
Doué.	*Diá.*	Deus.
Ælez.	*Aighlé.*	Angeli.
Kær.	*Caihir.*	Civitas.
Menn.	*Meannan.*	Hœdus.
Crouër.	*Cruigheoir.*	Creator.
Iffern.	*Iffrin.*	Tartarus.
Choareil.	*Corgas.*	Quadrageſima
Ezom.	*Eaſſomh.*	Indigentia.
Buanegez.	*Baneghas.*	Furor.
Marchyat.	*Marcuiacht.*	Æquitatio.
Tourch.	*Torc.*	Aper.

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* Portuum. † Albitegumenti. ‖ Aratorius.
‡ Niger. ** Nigerrimus. †† Initialis. } Menſis.
* Sementarius.

VOCABULARIUM

Armorico-Hibernicum.

ARMORICE.	HIBERNICE.	LATINE.
	A.	
AER.	*Aighir.*	Aer.
Aur.	*O'r.*	Aurum.
Ar.	*A'r, Aras.*	Terra.
All.	*Oile.*	Alius.
Angor.	*Ancoire.*	Anchora.
Argant.	*Argiod.*	Argentum.
Arm.	*Arm.*	Arma.
Alt.	*Alt.*	Saltus.
Ane, Ene.	*Anam.*	Anima.
Aval.	*Aval.*	Pomum.
	B.	
Bara.	*Barín.*	Panis.
Brun.	*Brunn.*	Venter, mamilla.
Brech.	*Braigh.*	Brachium.
Bu.	*Bo.*	Bos.
Broch.	*Broc.*	Vas fictile vel ligneum.
Berr.	*Bearr.*	Brevis.
Breſych.	*Prayſſeach.*	Braſſica.

Bach,

Bach, Bagl.	*Batta,Bachull.*	Baculus.
Brenn,Brennyn.	*Brennin,* *Breatheamh.*	Rex, Judex.
Bardd.	*Bard.*	Poeta.
Baar.	*Barra.*	Vectis.
Breur.	*Brathair.*	Frater.
Bren.	*Bréun.*	Foetidus.
Buch, Bouch.	*Buc.*	Caper mas.

C.

Ki, Kun.	*Cu, Cun.*	Canis, canes.
Cren.	*Cruinn.*	Rotundus.
Crou.	*Cruaigh.*	Durus.
Carr.	*Carr.*	Carrus aut Currus.
Cat, Caz.	*Cat.*	Felis.
Canab.	*Canaib.*	Canabis.
Cantol.	*Coinneol.*	Candela.
Craou, Craouen.	*Cru, Cnu.*	Nux.
Coir.	*Ceir.*	Cera.
Caul.	*Cál.*	Caulis vel Braſſica.
Ciſt.	*Ciſte.*	Ciſta.
Cán.	*Cann,Caintic.*	Canticum.
Cana.	*Canagh.*	Canere.
Cambr.	*Seomra.*	Camera.
Cam.	*Cam.*	Curvus.
Cant.	*Cant, Cèud.*	Centum.
Canol.	*Canal.*	Canalis.
Caru, Caro.	*Carr-fhiggh.*	Cervus.
Chaden.	*Caddan.*	Catena.
Counicl.	*Cunin.*	Cuniculus.
Cale.	*Coill.*	Sylva.

Cár.	*Cara.*	Charus.
Croug.	*Cros.*	Crux.
Curun, coron.	*Coroin.*	Corona.
Corf.	*Corp.*	Corpus.
Coch.	*Coch, Corkire.*	Coccus, Purpureus.
Crin.	*Crian.*	Aridus.
Cóq.	*Cocuire.*	Coquus.
Carchar.	*Carcan.*	Carcer.
Caban.	*Caban.*	Caſula.
Calch.	*Cailce.*	Creta.
Caus.	*Caiſe.*	Caſeus.

D.

Deru.	*Dair.*	Quercus.
Dun.	*Dún.*	Collis.
Daigr.	*Deor.*	Gutta, lachryma.
Deilen.	*Duille,* *Duilleog.*	Folium.
Dour.	*Dorn.*	Pugnus.
Dour.	*Dúr.*	Aqua.
Doun.	*Domhain.*	Profundus.
Di, Deiz.	*De.*	Dies.
Dec.	*Deag, Deich.*	Decem.
Dolur.	*Dolas.*	Dolor.
Dug.	*Duibhee.*	Dux.
Dor.	*Dorus.*	Oſtium.
Dag.	*Daggear.*	Pugio.
Dreuc.	*Droch.*	Malus.
Dol.	*Dál.*	Vallis.
Den.	*Duine.*	Homo.

E.

E.

Eduyn.	*Eadhan.*	Videlicet.
Erigea.	*Eirigh.*	Surgere.

F.

Forn.	*Fuirn.*	Furnus.
Fin.	*Fín.*	Subtilis.
Fin.	*Finn.*	Candidus.
Feur.	*Féar.*	Nundinae.
Foen.	*Féur.*	Foenum.
Ffruyn.	*Sréun.*	Froenum.
Fron.	*Srón, Sronin.*	Naſus, Nares.
Fals.	*Falſa.*	Falſus.
Fallat.	*Fallagh.*	Fallere.
Forch.	*Forc.*	Furca.
Furm.	*Foirm.*	Forma.
Feſt.	*Feaſta.*	Feſtus.

G.

Gouin.	*Fion.*	Vinum.
Greun.	*Grain.*	Granum.
Gaour.	*Gabhar.*	Caper.
Glu, Glut.	*Gleu.*	Gluten.
Groin.	*Groinn.*	Porcorum proboſcis.
Glas.	*Glas.*	Viridis.
Glin.	*Glun.*	Genu.
Gloar.	*Gloir.*	Gloria.
Glaif.	*Claidheamh.*	Gladius.
Goaz.	*Gìagh.*	Anſer.
Gard.	*Gardìn.*	Hortus.
Garm.	*Gairm.*	Beatus.

H.

Hun.	*Sún.*	Somnus.
Henn.	*Sean.*	Vetus.

I.

Imaich.	*Imhaigh.*	Imago.
Iſge.	*Uiſge.*	Aqua.

L.

Lin.	*Linn.*	Stagnum, lacus.
La.	*Lamh.*	Manus.
Lin.	*Líon.*	Linum.
Lili.	*Lili.*	Lilium.
Lug.	*Lúg.*	Corvus.
Laguen.	*Lag.*	Lacuna, ſtagnum.
Lech.	*Leac.*	Rupes.
Lin.	*Línin.*	Linea.
Liffr.	*Leabhar.*	Liber.
Lancç.	*Langa.*	Lancea.
Lacç.	*Nask.*	Laqueus.
Lys, Les.	*Lis.*	Aula, Curia.
Leu.	*Leomhan.*	Leo.
Ledr, Lezu.	*Leathar.*	Corium.
Logis.	*Lóſtín.*	Hoſpitium.

M.

Mis.	*Mi.*	Menſis.
Milin.	*Mulinn.*	Molendinum.
Mantel.	*Mantal.*	Muliebre pallium.
Mal.	*Mala.*	Sacci genus.
Moch.	*Muc.*	Porcus.

Mam.	*Mathair.*	Mater.
Miſgu.	*Meaſgah.*	Miſcere.
Mor, Mar.	*Muir, Mara.*	Mare.
Mél.	*Mil.*	Mel.
Mill.	*Mile.*	Mille.
Mall.	*Mallachta.*	Malus, ſceleratus.
Maeſtr.	*Maghiſdir.*	Magiſter.
March.	*Marc.*	Equus.
Marg.	*Meirg.*	Ferrugo.

N.

Nos.	*Noiche.*	Nox.
Neu, neues.	*Nua, Nuath.*	Novus.
Nef.	*Neamh.*	Nubes.
Nith, Neis.	*Nead.*	Nidus.
Neuth.	*Snaithe.*	Filum.
Neza, Niddu.	*Snaighthagh.*	Nere.
Niul, Niful.	*Néull.*	Nebula.
Naou.	*Naoi.*	Novem.
Nith.	*Nigheann.*	Neptis.
Natur.	*Naduir.*	Natura.

O.

Oll.	*Oll, uile.*	Omnis.
Orgouil.	*Orgoill.*	Superbus.
Ober.	*Obuir.*	Opera.
Oleu, Eol.	*Ola.*	Oleum.
Office.	*Offig.*	Officium.
Oncç.	*Unſa.*	Uncia.
Or.	*Ore.*	Terminus.

P.

Pemp.	*Pemp*, vox antiqua.	Quinque.
Pis.	*Pis.*	Piſum.
Pez.	*Piſa.*	Fruſtum.
Pris.	*Pris.*	Pretium.
Porth.	*Purt.*	Portus.
Porfor.	*Purfur.*	Purpura.
Poſt.	*Poſta.*	Poſtis.
Punt.	*Punta.*	Pondo.
Pobl.	*Pobul.*	Populus.
Perill.	*Pericl.*	Periculum.
Plant.	*Planta.*	Planta.
Parc.	*Pairc.*	Viridarium.
Pul, Poul.	*Poll.*	Stagnum, Lacuna, Sinus.

R.

Rhodl.	*Ramha.*	Remus.
Raden, radin.	*Rathin.*	Filix.
Rhy.	*Riogh.*	Dominus, Rex.
Rac.	*Rach.*	Enim, nam.
Ræſon.	*Reſún.*	Ratio.
Rot, Rhod.	*Rhotha, rit.*	Rota.
Rouſin.	*Rosín.*	Reſina.
Ros, Roſen.	*Roſa.*	Roſa.

S.

Sebon.	*Sopa.*	Sapo.
Segal.	*Seagul.*	Secale.
Saeth.	*Saghid.*	Sagitta.
Súg.	*Su.*	Succus.

Sgub,

Sgub, yſgub.	*Scuab.*	Scopa.
Sul.	*Solus.*	Sol, Lux.
Siell, Sél.	*Seala.*	Sigillum.

T.

Taru, Taro.	*Tarbh.*	Taurus.
Tur.	*Tor.*	Turris.
Tumbe.	*Tumba.*	Tumulus, Sepulchrum.
Tir.	*Tír.*	Terra.
Tec.	*Deach.*	Domus.
Termen.	*Tearmonn.*	Terminus.
Ti.	*Ti, Tigh.*	Domus.
Taran.	*Torman,* *Tarneach.*	Tonitru.
Torch.	*Torch.*	Torques.
Titl.	*Tiodal.*	Titulus.
Teyrn.	*Tighearna.*	Dominus, Rex.
Teyrnas.	*Tighearnas.*	Dominatio.
Taſg.	*Taiſce.*	Vectigal.
Tonn.	*Tunn.*	Cadus.
Teuth.	*Tuath.*	Gens.

V.

Uy.	*Oibh.*	Ovum.
Ur, Gur.	*Fear.*	Vir.

A

SPECIMEN

OF THE

ARMORICAN LANGUAGE.

THE BEATITUDES *Mat.* viii. 1, &c.

Eürus bras e'on peuryen vès à ſperet rac rouantelez an euffaon à apparchant onté.

Eürus bras eo an re debonner, rac an douar a poſſedint.

Eürus bras eo an re à goüel, rac conſolet vezint.

Eürus bras eo an re ho devez naoun ha rechet, rac raſſaſſiet vezint.

Bleſſed are the poor in Spirit, for the kingdom of Heaven is theirs, *&c.*

PRONUNCIATION.

Cha as *ſha*, &c. *ç* as *ſ*. A final *f* is mute. Double *ff* as *v* Conſonant. *Ga, go, gu,* hard; *Ge, gi* ſoft. *Gn* as *ni* in *Opinion*. *H* is always pronounc'd. *J* Conſonant as in Dutch, *Eürus bras eo an re trugareaus ò devezo.*

Eürus bras eo an re ò deves ho caloun næt, rac guelet à raint Doué.

Eürus bras eo an re pacificq, rac gualvet vezint bugalé Doué.

Eürus bras eo an re pere à andur perſetion à palamour da juſtiçe rac rouantelez an euffaon ſo dezè.

Dutch. A final *x* as *s*. *Z* has a particular pronunciation. *Je*, *an*, Diminutive terminations; as *Map*, *Mapic*; *Merch*, *Merchic*; *Gruech*, *Gruechic*, or *Gruech bihan*, &c.

The Sum of the Law and Goſpel.

Te à caro an Antraou da Doué à creis da calon, a creis da enef, hac a creis da entendamant.

Te à caro da neſſaff eueldot da hunan.

Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy underſtanding.

Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy own ſelf.

The ten Commandments in verſe.	*In Engliſh proſe.*
I. *En un Doué parfæt ez credy,* *Ha parfætamant à quiry.*	I. One onely God ſhalt thou believe, And perfectly love.

II. *Doué è væn ne touy quet,*	II. By God in vain thou ſhalt not ſwear,
Na dememes nettra erbet.	Nor likewiſe by any other thing.
III. *An Sulyon hac an Gonelyon Din*	III. Sundays and Holydays ſhalt thou keep
A obſervy gant pedennou.	In ſerving God devoutly.
IV. *Da tat da mam hep bout fell,*	IV. Thy father and mother ſhalt thou honour,
A enory hac ez bevy pell.	That thou mayſt lead a long life.
V. *Muntrer yvez ne vizy quet,*	V. Thou ſhalt likewiſe do no murther
A volontez nac a effet.	By Will nor Deed.
VI. *Luxurius mir ma vizy;*	VI. Nor ſhalt thou be luxurious
Na dre effect na dre deſir.	In Deed or Deſire.
VII. *Laezerez na miret ma daou den*	VII. Thou ſhalt not keep the goods of another
En ep guys ne ry bizuicquen.	Privately or by force.
VIII. *Nac a euæp den fals teſteny*	VIII. Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs
Gaon è lech guir ne liviry.	Nor ly in any wiſe.

IX.

IX. *Na deſir euffr au quicq bizuicquen.*	IX. Thou ſhalt not do the works of the fleſh,
Nemet gaut priet ep muy quen.	But in marriage onely.
X. *Madaon da hentez ne hoantaï quet,*	X. Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbours goods
Euit ep ræſoun ho miret.	To keep them without reaſon.
The Lord's Prayer.	*In Engliſh.*
Hon Tat pehiny ſo en euffou.	Our Father which art in Heaven.
Hoz hano bezet ſanctifiet.	Hallowed be thy name.
Ho rouantelez devet demp.	Thy kingdom come.
Ho volontez bezet græt en douar euel en euff.	Thy will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.
Rait demp hizyau hon bara pemdizyec.	Give us this day our daily bread.
Ha pardonet dem hon offançon, euel ma pardonomp dan reen deves ny offançet.	And forgive us our offences, as we forgive thoſe that offend us.
Ha na permettet quet ez coveze m'en tentation.	Suffer us not to fall into temptation.
Hoguen hon delivret a droue.	But deliver us from evil.

Ma Doué ho pet truez onziffervez ho trugarez bras.

Lord have pity upon me according to thy great mercy.

The Creed.

Me à cret en Doué è Tat ollgalloudec, croüer dan Euff ha dan donar. Hac en Jeſus Chriſt e map unic hon Antrahou. Pehiny ſo bet concevet ves au Speret ſantel, guanet vès an guerches Mary. En deves gouzavet didan Ponçe Pilat, ſo bet crucifiet, maru, ha ſebeliet. So bet diſquennet en iffernaou, ha dan trede dez reſſuſcitet à maru da beu. (from Death to Life) *So pingnet en Euffaon, hac aſezet an tu dehou da Doué, è Tat ollgalloudec. A hanè èz duy da barn an re beu, hac an re maru. Me cret en Speret ſantel, hac an Ilis Catholiç. Ha commu-*

I believe in God the Father, *&c.*

Antraou Doué diſcuezit diff hos enthou, ha quelennet diff ho garantchou. En hanu an Tat, an Map, an Speret ſantel.

That is,

Lord God ſhew me thy ways and teach me thy paths, in the name of the Father, Son, and holy Spirit.

Jeſus map Doué ho pet truez ouziff.

Jeſus Son of God have pity upon me.

Hanu Doué bezet benniguet.

The name of the God be bleſſed.

Antraou hoz bet truygarez onzemp.

Lord have mercy upon us.

nion

nion an sènt. Remiſſion an pechedon. Reſurrection an Quic. An buhez eternel.	*A bremman, bepret da bizuicquen.* From this time to Eternity.
Eu al-ſe bezet græt.	So be it.

Numbers.

Unan, daou, try, penar, pemp, huech, ſeiz, eiz, nao, dec, unnec, daouzec, tryzec, penarzec, pempzec, chuezec, ſeittec, eittec, naontec, uguent.	One, two, three, four, five, ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, ſixteen, ſeventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty.
Unan voar n'uguent, &c.	One and twenty, &c.
Tregont, daouguent, hanter cant, try uguent, dec a try uguent, penar uguent, dec a penar uguent, Cant, Mil, Million.	Thirty, forty, half a hundred, *i. e.* fifty, threeſcore, threeſcore and ten, fourſcore, fourſcore and ten, a Hundred, Thouſand, Million.

Days of the Week.

Dyſſull, Dyllun, Demeurz, Demercher, Diziou, Derguener, Deſſadorn, un Sizun, un Dez.	Sunday, Munday, Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, Friday, Saturday, a Week, a Day.

Doué da roiff dez mat dech.	God give you a good day.
Ha dechhu Ivez.	And to you likewiſe.
Penaus a hanochhu?	How do you do?
Yach ouf à trugarez Doué.	I am well by God's mercy.
Peà lech ez it-hu?	Whither go you?
Me govezo an guiryonez.	I ſhall know the truth.

DII GALLORUM.

Taramis.
Heſus.
Teutates.
Belenus, *vel*
Abellio.
Onvana. *Anara*, Hib.
Hogmius.
Adraſte. Andate.

SUMMUS MAGISTRATUS.

Vergobretus. *Fergobrethr*, Hib.

OFFICIORUM MAXIMÈ *ſacrorum nomina.*

Pateræ.
Cænæ.
Bardi. *Bard*, *Baird*, H.
Druidæ. *Droi*, *Druidhe*, Hib.
Eubages· corruptè pro *Vates*.

MILITARIA VOCABULA.

Ger.

Alauda.
Caterva.

MILITUM SPECIES.

Gælatæ. { *Gaiſcioghach*, H.
Vargi.
Crupellarii.
Bagaudæ. *Bagadai.*
Galearii.

ARMORUM NOMINA.

Spatha.
Geſſum.
Lancea.
Cateia.
Matara.
Thyrcus. *Tarei*, Hib.
Cetra.
Carnon. { *Carnan*, videas, quæras.

Machinæ Bellicæ.

Mangæ.
Mangana.
Mangonalia. } Diminut. *Meanghan.*

Curruum Nomina.

Benna.
Petoritum.
Carrus.
Covinum.
Eſſedum.
Rheda.

Veſtium Nomina.

Rheno.
Sagus.
Linna †.
Gaunacum.
Bardiacus, pro Bardis.

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† *Linnæ*, ſaga quadra et mollia ſunt, de quibus Plaut. Linnæ cooperta eſt textrino Gallia. Iſidor.

Linna Diodoro eſt σάγις ψιλὸς, et Varroni mollis ſagus; Hibernis hodiernis induſium eſt non una mutata littera.

Bardocucullus, etiam pro Bardis.
Braccæ, pro omnibus. *Breaccan.*
Maniaci.

Animalium Nomina.

Marc, Equus.
Rhaphius, Lupus Cervinus.
Abrana, Simia.
Barracaceæ, Pellium, &c.
Lug. Cornix. Mus.
Clupea. Piſcis ſpecies.

CICERO
ILLUSTRATUS,
DISSERTATIO
PHILOLOGICO-CRITICA:
SIVE

Conſilium de toto edendo CICERONE, alia planè methodo quàm hactenus unquam factum.

> *Vivit, vivetque per omnem ſeculorum memoriam: dumque hoc vel forte, vel providentiâ, vel utcunque conſtitutum, rerum Naturae corpus (quod ille paenè ſolus Romanorum animo vidit, ingenio complexus eſt, eloquentiâ illuminavit) manebit incolume, comitem aevi ſui laudem Ciceronis trahet.*
>
> Vel. Paterc. lib. 2. cap. *66.*

CICERO ILLUSTRATUS.

CAPUT I.

Viro
Natalibus, ingenio, literis, armis
Inſigni,
D. D. GEORGIO GULIELMO
Baroni de Hohendorf,
In copiis ſac. Caeſ. Majeſt. equitum Tribuno,
Sereniſſimi Principis
Summique Imperatoris
EUGENII SABAUDI
Adjutori generali & Optioni,
S. P. D.
JOANNES TOLANDUS.

VIR quidam, ad miraculum uſque eruditus, ſaepe me dicentem audivit, CICERONEM MIHI SEMPER TALEM FORE, QUALIS CICERONI EXTITERAT PLATO : cúmque idem iſtud in ſcriptis meis (omni tamen comparatione procul remotâ) non ſemel legiſſet, enixè aſſiduéque hortatus eſt, ut novam hujus incomparabilis Oratoris, optimi Civis, ſapientiſſimi Magiſtratus, ſummi Philoſophi, editionem adornare vellem. Nemo enim amico noſtro acutiùs ea animadvertere ſolet, quae in quibuſvis editionibus aut exuberent quoquo modo aut deficiant; ſive quòd editores aliqui oſcitantes nimis & imprudentes fuerint, ſive quòd aliqui ſubſidiis minùs & otio gaviſi ſint: ſive hoc denique (quod frequentius certè) ex plerorumque Grammatiſtarum ac Commentatorum ridicula affectatione, ex faſtidioſâ doctrinae oſtentatione, ex declamatoria rerum puſillarum amplificatione, aut ex arrogantia minimè ferendâ evenerit. Impulſu ergo hujus amoeniorum ſtudiorum arbitri, ac vehementi meâ erga Ciceronem propenſione commotus, non exemplar modò, ſed conſilium etiam perfectioris omni ratione, quàm unquam hactenus, editionis faciundae, tacitus mecum primò efformavi. Haud parum deinceps in propoſito me confirmarunt viri, non magis judicii laude, quàm ſcientiae amplitudine conſpicui: nam pauciſſimis, fateor, quorum apud me auctoritas plus quàm multitudinis approbatio valet, quali in hoc negotio animo eſſem, aperui. Et pergere demum præ omnibus unus accendebat, qui utiliſſimum hujuſmodi coeptum pro merito quidem aeſtimare imò & liberaliter inſuper promovere potis eſt.

II. SED O Dii boni! quàm altos ſuſtuli animos, quantùmque incitatus his ſtudiis & in-

inflammatus eo die Generoſiſſime BARO) quo deductus ſum a te primâ vice ad ſereniſſimum EUGENIUM SABAUDUM, nomen toto orbe celeberrimum, & literarum cultoribus imprimis venerandum, cùm ſit ipſe omnium bonarum artium decus & lumen! Quando intromiſſus (inquam) Hagae-Comitis ad celſiſſimum Principem, ac praeſentem intueri fas erat, immo quando mentem ejus ſenſuſque circa hanc ipſam Ciceronis editionem perſpicere dabatur; non diutiùs licuit ambigere, non ampliùs hærere, quin me meaque omnia ſtatim in fidem & poteſtatem victoris permitterem. Antea mihi cum omnibus, quos oriens Sol aut occidens reſpicit, juxta notum erat, illum non modò eorum hominum qui nunc ſunt gloriam, ſed etiam antiquitatis memoriam bellicâ virtute ſuperaſſe, omneſque omnium gentium Imperatorum res geſtas longè poſt ſe reliquiſſe; nullae ſiquidem *nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero praeliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi*, cum ipſius praeclaris facinoribus conferri poſſunt. Quod enim belli genus in quo cum non exercuerit fortuna, virtus non reddiderit victorem? An Turcicum memorem vel Hungaricum, Germanicum, Italicum, Allobrogicum, Belgicum, Gallicum, aliaque bella? in quibus manum ipſius & animum indomitum obſcuratura nulla unquam ſit oblivio. Ut Tullii verbis illum fideliter exprimere pergam, *ſaepiùs cum hoſte conflixit, quàm quiſquam cum inimico concertavit: plura bella geſſit, quàm* *ceteri legerunt: plures provincias confecit, quàm alii concupiverunt: & ejus adoleſcentia ad ſcientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis, ſed ſuis imperiis; non offenſionibus belli, ſed victoriis; non ſtipendiis, ſed triumphis eſt erudita.* Haec, aio, omnia non poterant non mihi eſſe notiſſima. Sed in eum uſque diem me fateor latuiſſe (quod exinde luculenter cognovi) non minùs ſcilicet EUGENIUM literis eſſe potentem quàm armis? nec literis tantum humanioribus, quae ipſi in deliciis ſunt, ſed arte etiam hiſtoricâ graphicè pollere: non in Romanis duntaxat & Graecis antiquitatibus eſſe verſatum, ſed praeſtantiſſimam ejus eſſe peritiam in univerſo jure belli & pacis, quod non ſoli illum libri, ſed res ipſae docuerunt; cùm uſu & ingenio tantùm valeat, quantùm fide & auctoritate. Philoſophiam, ſeu naturae contemplationem & morum doctrinam, qua nullum majus aut melius à Diis datum munus homini, ille omnium mortalium oculatiſſimus ſimul ac moratiſſimus non invitâ attigit Minerva. Nae incredibile dictu eſt, quantos in omnibus ejus partibus progreſſus fecerit. Inde venit, ut tam facilis ſit ad eum privatorum aditus, ut tantus ſit in eo lepos, venuſtas, & elegantia ſermonis; ut nemo denique illum prudentiâ, conſilio, conſtantiâ, fortitudine, magnitudine animi, innocentiâ, probitate, aut ullo genere laudis excellat: & talis hercle eſt, ut quicquid de eo dicitur, idem de nullo alio eodem modo intelligi poſſit; unus nempe, qui omnia tanquam ſingula abſolvat. Tam largus eſt & munificus in artium liberalium, immo & ingenioſarum, excultores (quos benigno ſemper excipit vultu) ut beneficentia ipſius & liberalitas in proverbium jam abierint. Picturae, Poëſeos, & Muſices non ſtudioſior, quàm doctus & intelligens aeſtimator. Sed librorum amor, quos undiquaque miranda cum diligentia & delectu conquirit, alia ferè omnia ſtudia ſuperavit. Ardorem hunc Bibliothecae locupletiſſimae inſtruendae noſtrates omni praedicatione decorandum cenſuerunt praeteritâ hieme, quando, Danubio, Pado, Rheno, Moſae jampridem mirabilis, Oceano tandem & Thameſi noſtro majorem ſe adhuc & clariorem ſpectandum obtulit. Praeſentiam ejus diu eſt, quòd Batavis inviderunt Britanni. Utinam & hic conſiſtat illa Invidia! *Hunc audiebant antea, nunc autem viderunt, tantâ temperantia, tantâ manſuetudine, tantâ humanitate; ut ii beatiſſimi eſſe videantur, apud quos ille diutiſſimè commoratur.* A remotiſſimis inſulis, & ab ultima terrarum Thule, fit bonorum omnium apud hoſpitium ejus concurſus. Aures ejus acclamationibus, oculos ſuos gratiſſimo ſpectaculo implent. Oppletae undique viae, anguſtus ipſi trames relictus. Senes, pueri, matronae, virgines, nobiles, ignobiles, certatim videre & coram venerari geſtiunt; paucis omnino exceptis, apud quos *non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet, non judicium, non exiſtimatio civium, non poſteritatis verecundia.* Non tantùm ergo res ejus bellicae à Britannis jam celebrabuntur, ut antea; ſed rerum etiam humanarum ac divinarum ſcientia, in caſtris (quod mirandum) & tumultu comparata: nam unicus ferè poſt antiquos junxit EUGENIUS, res hoc tempore diverſiſſimas, Literas & Arma. At quo progredior? Nullius eſt certè tanta dicendi aut ſcribendi copia, quae non dicam exornare, ſed enarrare, ac multo minùs exaequare, tot animi dotes, tot egregia facta poſſit; omnium tamen populorum literis atque linguis memoranda. Sic longè denique latèque diffuſae ſunt ejus laudes, ut gloriae ejus domicilium ipſis univerſi finibus terminetur. Caetera praeſtabit honor aeternus Annalium. Dum anima ergo ſpirabo meâ, HOHENDORFI, tui in me beneficii, qui notitiam tanti herois & favorem mihi conciliaſti, nunquam ero immemor; nec ulla unquam dies gratias tanto debitas officio definiet. O me beatum! qui te habeam non ſolùm aequiſſimum ſtudiorum meorum aeſtimatorem, ſed acrem ſubinde hortatorem & idoneum. Quum facillimè idcirco in nomine tuo acquieſcam, par eſt ut accuratè tecum & particulatim, de meo in edendo Cicerone propoſito, agam; unde meam quoque de ipſo Cicerone, ut & de quibuſdam maleferiatis Ariſtarchis, ſententiam ediſcas. Ceterùm, quòd diligi a te & curari me intelligam, immortaliter gaudeo.

III. QUAMVIS imprimis perſuaſum habeam omnium gentium atque temporum ingenia, dummodo rerum adjuncta ritè penſitentur, eſſe aequalia: quave tamen ex publicae diſciplinae aut privatae educationis methodis diverſiſſimis, quave ex plerorumque hominum occupationibus neceſſariis aut voluntariâ exercitatione, ſic fere contingit; ut quicquid in eloquentia & rerum politicarum ſtudiis profecerimus, potiorem ſaltem partem, Graecis id omne & Latinis ſcriptoribus ex aſſe debeamus. Horum nempe manes in Libris ſuis (quaſi ex ſepulcris alloquentes) orbi olim tradiderunt, jamque etiam nunc tradunt, ornatioris ſermonis, reipublicae prudenter adminiſtrandae, morum politiorum ſimul & caſtiſſimorum praeclara documenta; innumeris omnia illuſtrata & confirmata exemplis. Hinc accidit, ut elaboratiſſima linguarum hodiernarum idiomata, leges & conſuetudines probatiſſimae, ac ſelectiſſima itidem proverbia, ſint a nobiſmet ipſis, aut ab aliis inter legendum inde deſumta: plurimi enim, qui Graecis nunquam aut Romanis literis operam impenderunt, doctiorum tamen labores vel pertractando crebriùs vel imitando, eadem illinc elegantiae, perſpicuitatis, atque ordinis emolumenta lucrati ſunt; ut de ſolidiori rerum cognitione, aut de egregiis omni eventui accommodandis exemplis, nihil dicam.

IV. HORUM verò antiquorum, non uno tantùm nomine praeſtantiſſimus ſemper habendus eſt MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO; ſed omnium etiam defectum quodammodo ſupplere poſſet, ſi, ad reliquorum inſtar, fuiſſent ad-

adhucdum reſtantes deperditi. Quòd in hiſtoria Philoſophorum & doctrina tradendâ, in Politicorum ſpeculationibus & exercitiis, ac (quod primùm memorare debueram) in origine, progreſſu, & perfectione Eloquentiae, Romanis omnibus tam extantibus quàm extinctis immenſùm antecellat, eſt proculdubio veriſſimum; ſi fidem potiſſimùm illis adhibemus, quorum in hac cauſa teſtimonium ſine abſurditate recuſari nequit, utpote qui proximi ab illo ſint ipſi in hiſce artibus principes cenſendi. Graecos illos, quos primùm perquam diligenter evolvit, ac poſtea non minùs feliciter imitatus eſt, longiſſimè demum ſuperavit, & totum idcirco genus humanum.

V. TUTO nihiloſecius aſſeverare poſſum, eundem hunc *Ciceronem* non paucis in ipſo orbe Literario penè ignotum eſſe; etiamſi nullius profectò nomen, idque meritiſſimò, in omnium ore frequentiùs verſetur. A ſimulatis Grammaticis (nam genuinos plurimi facio) ab ignobilibus, inquam, verborum opificibus ita ineptè tractatus, & tam perverſis etiamnum modis acceptus eſt, ut ex ipſis unum fuiſſe complures exiſtiment; unde omnes quotquot foediſſimo hoc errore poſt Philelphum laborant, illum aequè ac trivialem quemvis ludimagiſtrum aut petulantem refugiant paedagogum. Idem de Rhetoribus dico, putido illo ſenſu quo vulgò nunc intelliguntur umbratiles Declamatores. Cauſidici, pragmatici, & procuratores, vel blanditiis illum, vel metu, tu, vel muneribus, vel fraude adurgent, ut in ipſorum Collegium ſe cooptatum profiteatur: nec deſunt, qui allegata praeſtent, falſi teſtes; aut, qui argutiis hominem illaqueare velint, legulei. Hoc apud imperitos facit, ut verboſus, impudens, venalis, & litigioſus habeatur, eâdem odioſâ imputatione, qua rabulae forenſes & cavillatores, digniſſimis Patronorum Advocatorumque vitae conditionibus indigniſſimè abutuntur. Nullus eſt urbeculae vel tenuiſſimae praefectus, ſive Major ſit (ut barbare loquuntur) ſive Burgomagiſter; non ſyndicus, non ſcabinus, non ſcultetus, non viae publicae vel aedificiorum curator, quin ſe Ciceronem, aut ſimilem omnino ſibi Ciceronem credat: tam appoſitè rebus adaptaverunt nomina recentiores Critici! illis namque tot Conſules, Praetores, Aediles, Quaeſtores (& quid non hujus generis?) hi omnes fiunt, evadunt, cluunt.

VI. TU autem (Vir Illuſtriſſime) qui Reipublicae Romanae formam & adminiſtrationem, qualemque in ea locum noſter obtinuerit, tam probè calles; adeo hæc omnia à veritate abhorrere noviſti, ut nullus jam in Europa Princeps, aut alius quicunque magiſtratus, ſe gradu & dignitate cum Cicerone exaequare, non plus quam ditiones ſuas & auctoritatem Romano Imperio aequiparare, poſſit. At, quod ejus famæ claritatem magis adauget, ex equeſtris ordinis novo homine, Romae, tunc orbis terrarum dominae,

minae, Quaeſtor, Aedilis, Praetor, Conſul, Augur, Proconſul cum Imperio, perpetuâ ſerie electus eſt, Imperatorque ab exercitu in Cilicia ſalutatus. Erat non ſui modò, ſed omnium equidem temporum, ſcientiae civilis peritiſſimus; quod *Orationes* & *Epiſtolae* luculenter oſtendunt. Eloquentiae ipſius amplitudo orbis Imperio par; & hoſtis quondam Julius Caeſar (nemo ſiquidem illi inimicus patriae amicus eſſe poterat) agnovit Ciceronem (1) *omnium triumphorum lauream adeptum majorem, quanto plus eſt, ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promoviſſe, quàm Imperii:* poſterius namque hoc beſtiis nobiſcum commune eſt; cùm prius iſtud a Ratione, qua Deum quadantenus referimus, proficiſcatur. Erat Orator Ille omnibus numeris abſolutus, quem antiquiores ſibi nunquam cognitum, ſed in animo duntaxat effictum & adumbratum, fatentur; qualiſque ipſe mehercle addubitat, an unquam extiterit. Coaetanei verò, & alii cuncti in hodiernum uſque diem, Ciceronem ſolum fuiſſe mortalium omnibus ingenii dotibus praeditum, unâ voce conclamant. Proh Jupiter! quam eſt verborum copiâ, delectu, ſitu admirabilis! quanta orationis dignitas, efficacia, ſuavitas! quàm exuberantes inventionis fontes, & paratiſſima rerum eligendarum amplificandarumque topica! quàm exquiſitus & concinnus ordo! quàm limpida & defoecata perſpicuitas! quàm ſtupenda elegantia, & pulcherrima lumina totum exornant! quantus in commovendo pariter ac delectando artifex! qualis tamen (ut verbo dicam) argumentandi non interrupta ſeries, quantaque perſuadendi vis nequaquam reſiſtenda! facilis tamen ubique & expeditus eſt, ſimpliciſſimus, jucundiſſimus, honeſtiſſimus. Hoc qualecunque elogium ad meritorum ſublimitatem nimis quantùm humile! nam Romanorum civium fuit haud dubiè optimus, patriae autem prae univerſis amantiſſimus (in quibus Cato ſolus non ſine rivali ipſum reliquit) & ſui denique temporis, nec illo ſcientiae miraculo Varrone excepto, in omni doctrinae genere eruditiſſimus. Non Oratoribus enim, Politicis, & Philoſophis perveſtigandis totus incubuit; ſed quicquid etiam Poetae, Grammatici, Geographi, Hiſtorici ſcripſerant, quicquid Graecae docuerunt vel Latinae literae, id omne imbiberat penitus & animo complexus eſt. Ne quem fallat rerum haec minuta expoſitio, non ſubvereor: namque te (HOHENDORFI) famâ mihi & auctoritate tantopere praecellentem, non minimum eorum quae vel jam dixi, vel denuo dicturus ſum, ignorare ullatenus arbitror. Leviſſima iſtiuſmodi ſtoliditatis ſuſpicio mihi me, ac omnibus juxta, deridendum objiceret. Honeſtâ ſolummodo ambitione animatus, tibi demonſtrare percupio, me de Auctore noſtro adeo rectè ſentire; ut accuratum illud novae editionis conſilium, quod tuo ſubactiori judicio ſubmittendum propoſui, confecturum me, ac ad exitum pro rei dignitate perducturum, ſit admodum veriſimile.

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(1) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 7. cap. 10.

VII. METHODUS illa verè praepoſtera, qua Ciceronis opera in crudium puerulorum manus temerè ac ſine delectu conjiciuntur a nullius acuminis ludimagiſtris, qui eos flagris quoque inclementer accipere ſolent, cùm minùs conſequuntur, quae neque juventutis perſaepe neque reipublicae rectores ſatis intelligunt; haec (inquam) diſciplina illiberalis in cauſa eſt, cur tam perperam de viro illo divino plerique concipiant; & quòd aliquando ad nomen ipſius, propter verbera ſic olim à plagoſis Orbiliis importunè accepta, toti contremiſcant. Ita quidem *Orationes* ejus & *Epiſtolæ* (quae graviſſimas de rebus civilibus controverſias, eximias politicorum artes, & recondita imperii arcana complectuntur) non alio a quibuſdam habentur loco, quàm *Declamationes*, quas exercitandi cauſâ pronuntiant quandoque ſcholaſtici; aut *Epiſtolas*, quas in Muſeis ſuis, abſque ſubjecto ullo vel conſiliorum ſocio propoſito, ſcriptitant homines otioſi. Haec ergo & reliqua ejuſdem opera, non digniori fine ab aliis leguntur, quàm ut verborum inde copiam, tanquam ex repertorio quodam, depromant; quod plurimos induxit, ut nihil in iis praeter verba reperiri cenſerent. Inde (ſicuti credere par eſt) evenit, ut in libris nonnullorum, qui Ciceronem in deliciis habere prae ſe ferunt, ſonora tantùm verba, ac ſenſibus omnino deſtituta, reperias.

Nullo non tempore tales extiterunt, quorum & ipſe in primo *de Oratore* meminit: (2) *quid eſt enim* (inquit) *tam furioſum, quàm verborum, vel optimorum atque ornatiſſimorum, ſonitus inanis? nullâ ſubjectâ ſententiâ, nec ſcientiâ.* Cave tamen, amabo, ne credas me Ciceronem interdicendum velle pueris, a quibus nunquam non terendus eſt, & ex quo quicquid libero homine dignum eſt hauriri poſſint. Unde, quaeſo, Latinam linguam faciliùs, meliùs, citiùs ediſcant, quàm ab ipſo Romanae eloquentiae principe? Vulgarem tamen docendi rationem improbare me non diffiteor. In ſcholas, quaſi in piſtrinum aliquod, detruduntur miſelli; unde, ſicuti pleraeque inſtitutae ſunt, librorum odium non amorem reportant: ac poſtea in Academiis quibuſdam eruditis ineptiis tantùm non catenati, ipſas literas, propter literatorum inanem faſtum, & odia ob res nihili internecina, per totam vitam aſpernantur. At *ille ſe profeciſſe ſciat,* inquit Quintilianus, *cui Cicero valde placebit.*

VIII. NON inſulſiùs aliquando de Cicerone ferunt ulli judicium, quàm illi e quorum manibus (tuum, ſi ſapiunt, ſequuturi exemplum) neque interdiu neque noctu excuti debuit; viros intelligo natalium ſplendore & civili ſcientiâ nobiles. Ne pedaneus aliquis & calamiſtratus ſit verborum propola, ne cum diſpari aut inferioris ſortis homine conſortium ineant, forſan verentur: ſed tam a nobis, quàm re ipſâ meliùs edocti, digniùs ſentiant. Hic igitur ille Cicero fuit, qui omnium (3) primus ſupremâ inter mortales appellatione exornatus, a Quinto Catulo ſenatus principe, ac communi reliquorum applauſu (4) PATER PATRIAE ſalutus eſt; imo ab ipſo Catone, homine (ſi unquam) ab omni aſſentandi ſuſpicione alieno, (5) ſic nominabatur. Hoc etiam a civium in libera Republica ſuffragiis confirmatum, ubi honorum tituli gratuita proponebantur virtuti merces: non, uti hic ipſe paulò poſt, in diſſolutiſſimos conferebatur Imperatores; nec uti jam inde, in hoc uſque tempus, minutulo cuivis Tyranno ab iis tribuitur, quibus in animo ante omnia exoſus eſt. Lucius Gellius (ut ipſe in *L. Piſonem*) civicam ei coronam deberi dixit, ob Rempublicam ſervatam. Hic (ut iterum dicam) fuit ille Cicero, qui adverſâ praevalente factione, & ab illa jam urbe exulaturus, quam nuperrimè non minori conſervavit ſapientiâ, quàm antea moderatus eſt, totum viderat equeſtrem ordinem, veſtem (ut tunc moris erat) pro ſe (6) mutantem. Quid ſenatum nominem? cùm idem cuncta (7) Italia, tanquam in publica aliqua calamitate, feciſſet; cùmque ipſe, quando ſordidatus populo ſupplicaret, a nobiliſſimis viginti mille deprecaprecaprecatoribus, nobilibus præcipuè adoleſcentibus, veſtibus pariter mutatis, (8) comitabatur. Suſtentatus in hunc modum, tantopere dilectus, venerandus omnibus, & admirationi habitus, quàm facilè obſequium detrectare, ac inimicos apertâ vi profligare poſſet? Illis, e contrario, qui nimiam in eo lenitatem aut timiditatem culpabant, jugiter reſpondit: malle ſe officioſè legibus morem gerere, etſi in perniciem ſuam detortis; quàm ſeditioſè contendere, ubi Reipublicae inſtitutis, & civium vitis, tum clades tum victoria eſſet juxta exitiabilis futura. *Ego* (inquit ille in quodam (9) loco) *tantis periculis propoſitis* (*cùm ſi victus eſſem, interitus Reipublicae; ſi viciſſem, infinita dimicatio pararetur*) *committerem, ut idem perditor Reipublicae nominarer, qui ſervator fuiſſem? Mortem me timuiſſe dicis. Ego verò ne immortalitatem quidem contra Rempublicam accipiendam putarem, nedum emori cum pernicie Reipublicae vellem: nam qui pro Republica vitam dediderunt* (*licet me deſipere dicatis*) *nunquam mehercle eos mortem potiùs quàm immortalitatem aſſequutos putavi.* Quàm inſigne probi civis & optimi philoſophi exemplar!

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(2) Cap. 12.

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(3) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 7. c. 10. Juvenal. Sat. 8.
(4) Orat. in L. Piſonem, c. 3. & pro P. Sextio, c. 57.
(5) Vide Plutarch. in Cicerone, & de eodem Appianum.
(6) Orat. pro P. Sextio, c. 11.
(7) Ibid. c. 16, 60, &c.

IX. UT penitiùs intelligatur quantopere haec agendi ratio popularium illi conciliavit benevolentiam, quantoque apud optimos quoſ-que in pretio fuit, revoces tantùm in memoriam, injuſtae expulſionis triſtitiam velocis laetitiâ reditus oppidò ſuperatam. Neglecta poena (10) recipientibus, omnes ubique honorificentiſſimè illum exceperunt, ac in exteris provinciis inſolitis proſequuti ſunt honoribus. Illis, qui quocunque modo ei ſubveniſſent, gratiae a Senatu actae, quod ipſe meminit *pro Domo ſua*: ut & decreta ibidem ampliſſima recenſet de ipſius reditu, non paganorum ſolummodo, montanorum, & collegiorum urbanorum, ſed civitatum etiam, nationum, provinciarum, regum, ac orbis denique terrarum. Legati in ipſo reditu non ſolùm ab omnibus Italiae urbibus, coloniis, praefecturis, & municipiis gratulabundi occurrunt (ut videre eſt in Orationibus *pro P. Sextio & in L. Piſonem*) ſed ab iis inſuper qui hoſce miſerunt, cum conjugibus & liberis, cum ſervis item & colonis, agebantur dies feſti, viae publicae arctabantur. Obviam ei extra urbem Senatus & Populus egreſſus (qualis nulli unquam contigit honos) quaſi (11) *Roma, ſedibus ſuis convulſa, ad ſuum conſervatorem complectendum proceſſiſſet.* Splendidiſſimè ſic a bonis omnibus in Capitolium deductus eſt, ac *humeris* (ut ipſe (12) alicubi dixit, & ut Rhetor ei ſub Saluſtii nomine objicit) *Italiae reportatus*; unde non ſine ratione (13) unum illum diem immortalitati aequiparandum cenſebat.

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(8) Ibid. c. 12. & paſſim in Orat. poſt redit. in ſenat.
(9) Orat. pro Cn. Plancio, c. 36.

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(10) Orat. pro domo ſua apud Pontif. c. 20. Item Plutarch. in Cicerone.

(11) Orat. in Lucium Piſonem, c. 22.

(12) In extrema Oratione poſt redit. in ſenatu. Invect. Saluſt. c. 4.

X. UT totum itaque Ciceronem in hoc conſpectu exhibeam, quo jam non niſi dimidiatum & minuſculum effinxi, novam ejus operum de integro molior editionem: eoque etiam animo, ut eadem commodiora prorſus & utiliora iis, in quorum gratiam conſcripta ſunt, officioſus reddam; Principibus ſcilicet viris & Nobilibus, Philoſophis etiam, Politicis, Judicibus, & omnibus quibuſcunque Magiſtratibus. Quum aliis hi ſint magnâ ex parte diſtricti occupationibus, plurimi equidem intereſt, ut hunc praeceptorem ſuum inoffenſo pede, & non ſuſpenſis quaſi veſtigiis, percurrant. Sine mediocri ſaltem literarum uſu, neque diuturnum quidquam, neque ſtabile, in aliis rebus invenient. Hoc ſolùm permanet, ac in omni vitae parte jucundè inſervit: *nam ceterae* (inquit Tullius (14) noſter) *neque temporum ſunt, neque aetatum omnium, neque locorum; haec ſtudia adoleſcentiam agunt, ſenectutem oblectant, ſecundas res ornant, adverſis perfugium ac ſolatium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiſcum, peregrinantur, ruſticantur.* Hujus pulcherrimae deſcriptionis veritatem nemo uſquam te ipſo (Vir Doctiſſime) frequentiùs expertus eſt. Domi, foris, in caſtris, in itineribus, ſeu mari ſeu terrâ verſaris, libri ſemper comites, libri ſemper ad manum. Qualiſnam tandem futura eſt ſelectiſſima illa Bibliotheca? Sed tandem aliquando modum illum & conſilium, quod in hac nova editione ſequendum conſtituo, tibi me exponere par eſt: haud dubius, quin, tam in erratis benignè condonandis, quàm in iiſdem ſeverè corrigendis, ſis aeque futurus religioſus. Operis verò Conditiones vel Articuli (ut loquuntur) ſic ſe habent.

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(13) Orat. in L. Piſon. c. 22. & alibi.

(14) Orat. pro Archia poeta, c. 7.

XI. Art. i. CHARTAM non ſolummodo meliorem, & literas quàm in ulla hactenus editione venuſtiores, ſed quas aut inveniri aut etiam effingi poterunt optimas, nomine polliceor Bibliopolae, qui haec praeſtare obſtrictus eſt; ac, ut bonâ fide exſolvat promiſſa, ego certè curabo. Neque cultus aut ornatus negligetur: nitorem enim & elegantiam in hac Editione, non minùs quàm omnimodam aliam bonitatem proponens, quatuor figurae vel imagines leniori ex aere caelaturâ, ab artificioſa manu profectae, quatuor partibus, in quas Ciceronis opera diſtribuuntur, adaptandae ſunt; Rhetoricae nimirum, Oratoriae, Epiſtolari, & Philoſophicae. Numorum itidem, gemmarum, lapidum, Ciceronem quoquomodo referentium, in primo volumine inſerentur ectypa, ad ſummam fidem expreſſa. Sed prae omnibus ornabit librum noſtrum icuncula Ciceronis aerea, ex Kempiano Cimelio ad juſtam magnitudinem repraeſentanda. Nihil autem Muſeo hoc Joannis Kempii, viri candidiſſimi, ſelectius us aut elegantius; cùm ſimulacris, inſcriptionibus, numiſmatibus, & omni genere rariorum veterum relliquiarum, ſummo adhibito colligendi judicio, ſit refertum. Editionis verò haec conditio tam facilè intelligitur, ut pluribus hic uti verbis nequaquam ſit neceſſe.

XII. Art. 2. TEXTUM (uti vocant) omnium hactenus fore emendatiſſimum, tam verborum quàm interpunctionis reſpectu habito, haud gravatim in me ſuſpicio. Accurata haec interpungendi ratio, tam proficua tamque neceſſaria, in cunctis deſideratur editionibus; adeo ut hoc ipſum, ſi nihil aliud praeſtandum eſſet, novam poſtulare videatur. Quantùm ſolus hic defectus auctorem reddiderit difficilem, ac lectoris voluptatem minuerit, non cujuſvis modò experientia, ſed quotidianae pariter undequaque querimoniae, ſatis manifeſtum faciunt. Idoneum ergo huic vulneri remedium ferre, rem eſſe immenſi laboris & induſtriae nullus non fatebitur: iſta tamen penſi noſtri portio jampridem abſoluta eſt, cùm ego manu propriâ totum Ciceronem, praelo quando lubuerit ſubjiciendum, ante aliquot annos interpunxerim. Solertiam meam in his minutiis & patientiam laudari, non acumen aut ingenium ſuſpici, cupio. De literis proculdubio non malè meritus eſt Probus ille Valerius apud (15) Suetonium, qui *multa exemplaria contracta emendare ac diſtinguere, & ad-*

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(15) De illuſt. Grammaticis.

notari curavit: ſoli huic, nec ulli praeterea Grammatices parti, deditus. Sed unum aut alterum interpungendi exhibere ſpecimen non erit a ſcopo noſtro alienum. Locus hic, ex (16) tertio *de natura Deorum,* ſic in Gronoviana diſtinguitur editione, omnium nempe recentiſſimâ. *Quòd ſi tales Dii ſunt, ut rebus humanis interſint: Natio quoque Dea putanda eſt: cui, cùm fana circuimus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere ſolemus. quæ quia partus matronarum tueatur, a Naſcentibus Natio nominata eſt. Ea ſi dea eſt; dii omnes illi qui commemorabantur a te, Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia. Ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quæ cogitatione nobiſmet ipſis poſſumus fingere. quod ſi veriſimile non eſt: ne illud quidem eſt, haec unde fluxerunt.* Ego verò ſic diſtinguere malim, quod aliorum cenſurae ſubjicio. *Quòd ſi tales Dii ſunt, ut rebus humanis interſint, Natio quoque Dea putanda eſt: cui, cùm fana circuimus in agro Ardeati, rem divinam facere ſolemus; quae, quia partus matronarum tueatur, a naſcentibus Natio nominata eſt. Ea ſi Dea eſt; Dii omnes illi, qui commemorabantur a te, Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia: ergo etiam Spes, Moneta, omniaque quae cogitatione nobiſmet ipſis poſſumus fingere; quod ſi veriſimile non eſt, ne illud quidem haec unde fluxerunt.* In oratione *pro Lucio Cornelio Balbo* ſequenti modo locus, ex capite 24to depromtus interpungitur. *Sacra Cereris, Judices,*

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(16) Cap. 18.

ſummâ Majores noſtri religione confici, cæremoniaque voluerunt : quæ cùm eſſent aſſumpta de Græcia, & per Græcas ſemper curata ſunt ſacerdotes, & Græca omnia nominata : ſed cùm illam, quæ Græcum illud ſacrum monſtraret, & faceret, ex Græcia deligerent : tamen ſacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt, ut Deos immortales ſcientia peregrina, & externa ; mente domeſtica, & civili precaretur. Ego ſic, & rectè, ni fallor, interpungo. *Sacra Cereris (Judices) ſummâ majores noſtri religione confici caeremoniaque voluerunt ; quae, cùm eſſent aſſumta de Graecia, & per Graecas ſemper curata ſunt Sacerdotes, & Graeca omnia nominata : ſed cùm illam, quae Graecum illud ſacrum monſtraret & faceret, ex Graecia deligerent, tamen ſacra pro civibus civem facere voluerunt ; ut Deos immortales ſcientiâ peregrina & externa, mente domeſticâ & civili, precaretur.* Quòd locos hoſce non dedita operâ ſelegerim cuicunque librum, ubi volet, inſpicienti patebit ; nec unquam ferè aliter ſe res habet. Non loci ſolùm & verſus ex aliis ſcriptoribus, a Cicerone allegatis diverſo Charactere imprimentur (ut a quibuſdam jam rectè factum eſt) ſed talia quaedam hactenus non animadverſa, nec ideo ab ipſius propriis verbis ſatis diſtincta, a nobis ad aliorum normam excudentur. Commata (ſive Caeſa Latiniùs vel Inciſa mavis) tam multa aliquando occurrunt, ut non diſtinguant & articulent, ſed interrumpant & perturbent. Colon, ſive media diſtinctio, a ſemicolo rariùs diſcriminatur; priori ſiquidem crebriùs utuntur editores, quia, in codicibus infimae aetatis manuſcriptis, omnium ferè aliarum interpunctionum locum obtinebat. Puncta, ſeu abſolutae Periodi, ſaepiſſime ſine ullo judicio interſeruntur, nec ſequentis periodi prima litera ſemper (uti debuit) majuſcula eſt: quae omnia lectorem habent mirificè perplexum, maximâ auctorem injuria afficiunt, & ipſius paginae ſpeciem deformant. Loci tamen quos ſuperiùs adduxi, ad alios comparati, emendatiſſimi ſunt, ut cuivis ad aperturam libri apparebit. Cum quacunque etiam volueris editione conferantur illi loci, quos, ubi uſus venit, in ſequentibus allegaturus ſum. Membra haec & particulae orationis multoties a Cicerone noſtro, ſummo ſcribendi artifice, commemorantur; iiſque duplicem attribuit cauſam, ſermonis nempe diſtinctionem, & reſpirationem lectoris. Illo autem tempore inciſionibus, ductibus, punctis, aliiſque hujus generis notis ſignabantur iſtiuſmodi clauſulae; quamvis ſequentibus ſeculis tota haec ſcribendi ratio a feſtinantibus Librariis, nulla diſtinctione nedum vocum diſtantia ſervatâ, in pejus omnino immutata eſt. *Clauſulas* (inquit Cicero in tertio *de Oratore*) *atque interpuncta verborum, animae interclusio atque anguſtiae ſpiritus attulerunt. Verſus enim* (ſic paulo ſuperius loquitur) *veteres illi in hac ſoluta oratione propemodum, hoc eſt numeros quoſdam, nobis eſſe adhibendos putaverunt: interſpirationis*

tionis enim non defatigationis noſtrae, neque librariorum notis, ſed verborum & ſententiarum, modò interpunctas clauſulas in orationibus eſſe voluerunt. Non ergo interpunctione tantum, ſed & re ipſa, diſtingui debebant partes orationis: *neque ſemper utendum eſt perpetuitate, & quaſi converſione verborum; ſed ſaepe carpenda membris minutioribus oratio eſt, quae tamen ipſa membra ſunt numeris vincienda: ne* (quod in *Oratore* dicit) *infinitè feratur, ut flumen, oratio; quae non aut ſpiritu pronunciantis, aut interductu librarii, ſed numero coacta debet inſiſtere.* Et quidem fruſtra ſunt cum omni notarum apparatu, qui ſtructurâ & ſententiâ non ſua ſcripta diſtinguant.

XIII. Art. 3. POST *Dedicationem* (de qua in hac Ichnographia non opus eſt ut ampliùs loquar) ſequetur *Vita Ciceronis*, per Conſulatus interſecta, ac a Franciſco Fabricio Marcodurano conſcripta. Ejuſdem vitae rationes ab aliis pariter editas multis nominibus poſt ſe reliquit Fabricius, vir ſumma diligentia, judicio, & candore praeditus: nec ob ea quae ipſum effugerunt tam eſt culpandus, quàm laudandus propter ea quae ſolertiſſimè omnium collegit. Inter plura quae praetermiſerat, annumeranda ratio illa eſt, quam in Ciceronis elogio ſupra retulimus; qua ipſius nempe in exilium profectio a nimia lenitate & timiditate vindicatur. Ut aliud adhuc exemplum praebeam, nullam adhibuit defenſionem contra illos, qui levitatis eum & inconſtantiae inſimularunt; quia cum iis nimirum, a quibus antea ſolebat diſſentire, in gratiam non ſemel redierat. Non ille tamen, ſed ejus familiares de ſententia decedebant, nec ullus ſapiens ſecus unquam fecerat: *illi namque, qui iiſdem, quicquid agant, pertinaciùs ſtudent, non judicium aliquod habent de Reipublicae utilitate* (ut optimè (17) animadvertit) *ſed hominibus amici aut inimici ſunt.* Ipſum ulteriùs loquentem audias, &, ſi potes, reprehendas. (18) *Stare enim omnes debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo Reipublicae; qui, quoniam verſetur, eam deligere partem, ad quam nos illius utilitas ſaluſque converterit.* Regulam hanc egregiâ illuſtrat ſimilitudine. (19) *An cum videam navem ſecundis ventis, curſum ſuum tenentem, ſi non ea eum petat portum, quem ego aliquando probavi, ſed alium non minùs tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempeſtate pugnem periculosè potiùs, quàm illi, ſalute praeſertim propoſitâ, obtemperem & paream? neque enim inconſtantis puto ſententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium atque curſum, ex reipublicae tempeſtate moderari. Ego verò haec didici, haec vidi, haec ſcripta legi; haec de ſapientiſſimis & clariſſimis viris, & in hac republica & in aliis civitatibus, monumenta nobis literae prodiderunt: non ſemper eaſdem ſententias ab iiſdem, ſed quaſcunque*

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(17) Orat. pro Cn. Plancio, c. 39.
(18) Ibid. c. 38.
(19) Ibid. c. 39.

Reipublicae ſtatus, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiae poſtularet, eſſe defendendas, quod ego & facio (Laterenſis) & ſemper faciam; libertatemque, quam in me requiris, quam ego neque dimiſi unquam neque dimittam, non in pertinacia, ſed in quadam moderatione poſitam putabo. Talia bene multa Ciceronis hiſtoriae perneceſſaria, nec minoris momenti ad vulgaria de vitae ratione eluenda praejudicia, in *Annalibus* a Fabricio omittuntur.

XIV. Art. 4. Ut huic ergo auctori ſuccenturiatus veniam, tractatui ipſius, pro meo jure, *Critico-Hiſtoricam Diſſertationem* ſubnectam. Multa perſequetur ſpecialia capita ab aliis ſcriptoribus, qui totam Ciceronis vitam, aut aliquam ſaltem ſcripſerunt partem, obſervata, ut & praetermiſſa. Tales ſunt Plutarchus, Leonardus Aretinus, Conſtantius Felix, Henricus Bullingerus, Petrus Ramus, Sebaſtianus Corradus, & alii plurimi. Diſceptationes pariter eruditorum & diſquiſitiones, ſive laudem Ciceronis ſive vituperium exhibentes, in Diſſertatione noſtra pari fidelitate & brevitate exponentur; ut & omnia quae fortem ipſius aut timidum animum, aequitatem, doctrinam, partium ſtudium, ſtilum, amores (ſi Diis placet) vel ſimilia ſpectant. Duo jam a Fabricio omiſſa notavi, quibus tertium nunc adjiciendum. Nullum ferè hominem aut librum conſules, qui Ciceronem non nimium ſane & valde frequentem in propriis laudibus criminentur. Statim dicturi ſunt Lucium Lucceium,

ceium, ut Conſulatus ſui hiſtoriam (a ſeipſo Latinis verſibus & proſa Graeca editam) ſoluta oratione perſcriberet, maximè (20) ſollicitatum; eandemque gratiam, eum a (21) Graeculo quodam, ut eundem Conſulatum Graecis ſcilicet verſibus ederet, expetiiſſe: imo triumphum ſe reportaturos non deſperant, quando ab amico ſuo Marco Bruto culpatum (22) oſtendunt, quòd Nonas Decembris ſemper in ore haberet: tempus videlicet illud quo Catilinae conjurationem everterat. Sed, ut innumeris non immorer exemplis quibus ſe defendere poſſet, immenſa illa laudum cupido, ſine qua nihil unquam aut bonum aut magnum ſuſceptum, ſatis excuſatum habet; *nullam enim virtus* (inquit ipſe) (23) *aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque deſiderat, praeter hanc laudis & gloriae: quâ quidem detractâ, quid eſt quod in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo & tam brevi, tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus?* Non ſolum tamen nominis perpetuandi deſiderium (quamvis & id quoque prae oculis ſemper habuiſſe (24) generosè fatetur) eum, ut tam ſaepe de ſe loqueretur, impellerat. In multis aliis orationibus, aequè ac in illis pro *Domo ſua*, pro *P. Sextio*, & in *L. Piſonem*, de rebus ſuis, non minùs quàm eorum quos vel defenderet vel accuſaret, agebatur. Inimicorum praeterea mendacia & calumnias nunquam non refellere ac diluere neceſſariò adigebatur, ut pluribus confirmare exemplis in proclivi foret: ſed illud quod inimiciſſimo Clodio, idem hoc objicienti, reſpondit, ad reliquis omnibus os obturandum ſufficit. *Et quoniam hoc reprehendis* (24) (inquit) *quòd ſolere me dicas de me ipſo glorioſiùs praedicare; quis unquam audivit cùm ego de me, niſi coactus & neceſſariò, dicerem. Nam ſi, cùm mihi furta, largitiones, libidines, objiciuntur, ego reſpondere ſoleo, meis conſiliis, periculis, laboribus, patriam eſſe conſervatam; non tam ſum exiſtimandus de geſtis rebus gloriari, quàm de objectis non confiteri. Sed ſi mihi, ante haec duriſſima Reipublicae tempora, nihil unquam aliud objectum eſt, niſi crudelitas illius temporis, cùm a patria perniciem depuli; quid? me huic maledicto utrùm non reſpondere, an demiſsè reſpondere decuit? Ego verò, etiam Reipublicae ſemper intereſſe putavi, me illius pulcherrimi facti (quod ex auctoritate ſenatus, conſenſu bonorum omnium, pro ſalute patriae geſſiſſem) ſplendorem verbis, dignitatemque retinere: praeſertim cùm mihi uni in hac Republica, audiente populo Romano, operâ mea hanc urbem & hanc Rempublicam eſſe ſalvam, jurato dicere fas fuiſſet.* Integrum hunc deſcripſi locum, ut una eademque operâ vulgaris hujus accuſationis appareat levitas, utque omiſſiones quas Fabricio imputavi, non

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(20) Epiſt. fam. l. 5. ep. 12.

(21) Pro Archia, c. 11.

(22) Epiſt. fam. l. 1. ep. 9. ibid. ep. 16. & ep. 1. l. 1. ad Att.

(23) Orat. pro Archia Poeta, c. 11. & alibi.

(24) Ibid. c. 6. & infinitis aliis locis.

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(25) Orat. pro Domo ſua ad Pontif. c. 35, 36. conſulatur etiam cap. 12. orationis pro L. Sulla.

de nihilo videantur. Plurimas hujus generis animadverſiones continebit Diſſertatio noſtra; ſed, locis quàm breviſſimè indicatis, neque craſſa nimis erit neque praelonga.

XV. Art. 5. TUNC inſequetur *Textus*, eo, quo dixi, more caſtigatus; ac propter citationum facilitatem, in capita, majuſculis notis arithmeticis inſignita, diſtinctus. Sed alii paragraphi, abſque ullo judicio facti, penitus ablegantur. Ut in quibuſdam editionibus uſu venit, ſic in noſtra quoque praefigentur *Libri quatuor Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*; ſeu a Cornificio vel patre vel filio conſcripti, ſeu a Marco Gallione, aut quocunque alio, quod in argumento, priori libro praeponendo, examinabitur. Auctorem, non doctrinâ neque eloquentiâ deſtitutum, Ciceronis tempore, aut non multò ſaltem poſt vixiſſe, ſatis conſtat. Sed quando earundem cum eo rerum & nominum definitiones tradit (quod perſaepe fit) diſparitas adeo palpabilis ſeſe prodit, ut de contrariis etiam ſententiis nihil dicam, quòd mirer medius fidius Sanctum Hieronymum olim & Priſcianum, vel nuperiùs Marinellum & Kirchmaierum libros hos Ciceroni attribuiſſe. Hujus poſtremo dicti indubitatis operibus & fragmentis *Invectivam* contra illum, Criſpo Saluſtio adſcriptam, & *Reſponſionem* non minùs ridiculè ſibi ipſi imputatam, ſubtexam: haec enim ſymbolam qualemcunque ad ejus Hiſtoriam conferunt, nihilque ullo lectorum generi in noſtra editione deſiderandum relinquunt.

Propter eaſdem rationes *Orationem ad Populum & Equites antequam iret in exilium*, & *Declamationem*, vel potius *Epiſtolam ad Octavium* additurus ſum: cùm in manuſcriptis enim codicibus locum invenerint, cur idem in impreſſis privilegium non obtineant, haud perſpicio. Reliquis etiam *Conſolationem* adjungere viſum, non ideo duntaxat quòd a quibuſdam etiamnum genuina credatur; ſed quia, ut eruditiſſimus ſimul & reverendiſſimus Joannes Albertus Fabricius (26) advertit, eleganter ſcripta & lectu digna eſt. Alia quaedam ſcripta, ut manifeſto ſpuria & barbara, praetermitto; qualia ſunt *Oratio pro Marco Valerio, liber de ſynonymis ad L. Victurium, Orpheus ſive de adoleſcente ſtudioſo, & Tironis notae Tachygraphicae.* Quod ad Ciceronis *de Memoria artificiali libellum*, Jacobo Lectio & aliis memoratum, attinet, fabricatus eſt a neſcio quo, qui fraudis occaſionem ex decimo ſexto capite libri tertii *Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*, Ciceroni falsò (ut diximus) adſcripti captavit. Locus ſic ſe habet. *Memoria utrùm habeat quidquam artificioſi, an omnis a natura proficiſcatur, aliud dicendi tempus magis idoneum dabitur. Nunc perinde atque conſtet in hac re multum valere artem & praeceptionem, ita de ea re loquemur: placet enim nobis eſſe artificium memoriae, quare placeat aliàs oſtendemus.* Tractatus ipſe nihil aliud eſt quàm reliqui hujus tertii libri ad finem uſque interpolatio. Ars verò Memoriae Ciceroni probata, & ſub Antonii perſona tradita, legi poteſt in capitibus 86, 87, 88, libri ſecundi *de Oratore*. Ad omnium denique complementum, *Orationem Graecam de pace*, cum ejuſdem Latina verſione, ex Dione (27) Caſſio inſerendam putavi. Latina illa, quae pro ipſius Tullii foetu, a Carolo Merovillio in editione Orationum *in uſum Delphini* obtruditur, pudendis ubique ſcatet Gallicíſmis, neque probioris eſt monetae, quàm Petronii Fragmenta Nodotiana. Ut, quod ad Textum pertinet, nihil amplius in praeſens diſſeram, *Epiſtolis* ſubjicietur *Index Chronologicus*, ea ſerie qua ſcriptae ſunt, illas accuratè digerens, quod, ad iſtorum temporum hiſtoriam enucleandam, non parum adfert momenti: nam qui rerum geſtarum ordinem non prae oculis habent, ii planè in rebus ipſis caecutiunt.

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(26) Biblioт. Latin. in Cicerone.

XVI. Art. 6. CUNCTIS libris, Orationibus, Dialogis, & Epiſtolis ſuccincta praefigentur, ſed accurata, *Argumenta*, ſive Praefationes; abſque his enim omnia intellectu difficillima reperientur, neque cum ullo fructu perlegenda. Hoc linguarum intermortuarum fatum eſt. Quando aliorum argumenta ſatis nobis arridebunt, lubenter illis, ſub propriorum auctorum nominibus, uſuri ſumus. Quando vel nimis longa ſunt, vel nimis preſſa, maximè autem cùm talia nulla exiſtunt, novis tunc cudendis elaborabimus. *Philoſophicos* omnes & *Rhetoricos* quoſdam Libros ipſe argumentis ab integro donabo: ſiquidem abſque hoc, genuina Ciceronis de rebus ſententia haudquaquam dignoſci queat; quoniam non ſemper quid verè cogitarit, ſed quid cauſa, tempus, locus, & auditores poſtularant, dicere conſueverit. Hoc ipſe certè, in Oratione ſupra memoratâ *pro A. Cluentio*, apertè (28) fatetur: quando etenim ab Attio objectum, aliâ eum occaſione planè contrarium propugnaſſe, diſertè ſic reſpondit. *Illa oratio potiùs temporis mei, quàm judicii, & auctoritatis, fuit; cum enim accuſarem & mihi initio propoſuiſſem, ut animos & populi Romani & judicum commoverem: cumque omnes offenſiones judiciorum, non ex mea opinione, ſed ex hominum rumore, proferrem; iſtam rem, quae tam populariter eſt agitata, praeterire non potui. Sed errat vehementer ſiquis in Orationibus noſtris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates noſtras conſignatas ſe habere arbitratur: omnes enim illae Orationes cauſarum & temporum ſunt, non hominum ipſorum ac patronorum.* Si huic loco aliiſque ſimilibus, advertiſſent Lectores, non Ciceronem tam ſaepe inſulſiſſimè citatum deprehenderemus, neque quamplurima illi, ab iis quae fecerit & ſenſerit alieniſſima, tam indignè fuiſſent attributa. Tale quid ab Aſconio Pediano, in ſcholiis ad primam *pro Cornelio* adnotatur. Sed exactiſſimè hoc in Dialogis animadvertendum eſt, quoniam ad ea, quae ex diametro cum veris ipſius ſententiis pugnant, confirmanda, vulgò allegantur; quaſi ſufficeret, nulla loquentis ratione habitâ, ut hoc vel illud in Cicerone offendatur. Nonne animi ſui ſenſum, in libris *de Oratore*, eum ex ore Marci Craſſi tradere perſpicuum eſt? Quando ſibi pro ſe *de Haruſpicum reſponſis* in ſenatu perorandum erat, Divinationibus & Praeſagiis aliquid tribuere videri (29) voluit; idem in libris *de Legibus*, qui populo deſtinabantur, (30) obtendit: ſed ea omnia in illis *de Divinatione*, pro alio hominum genere (Philoſophis nimirum) conſcriptis, praefractè quidem & planiſſimè evertit. Nonne ipſe Cotta ille eſt, ſeu Academicus, in libris de *Natura Deorum?* Unde idcirco in citationibus inde pro ideis innatis, cauſis finalibus, conſenſu univerſali, & talibus rebus, deſumtis; non Cicero, qui haec aſpernatur, citari debuit, ſed Velleius Epicureus apud Ciceronem, Balbus Stoicus apud Ciceronem, & ſic de aliis. At ſiquis (ut multi prae ſe ferunt) addubitat illum ſub Cottae ibi perſona loquutum, quia in libri tertii concluſione, judicium hocce tanquam (31) Auditor, tulerat; *haec cum eſſent dicta ita diſceſſimus, ut Velleio Cottae diſputatio verior, mihi Balbi ad veritatis ſimilitudinem videretur eſſe propenſior:*

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(27) Lib. 44.

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(28) Orat. pro A. Cluentio, c. 50.

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(29) Cap. 9. legatur etiam pro Domo ſua ad Pontif.
(30) Lib. 2. c. 13.
(31) Cap. 40. & ult.

ſior: ſi aliquis (inquam) contentionis quàm veritatis cupidior, non videt clauſulam hanc idem prorſus eſſe, ac apud recentiores librum paradoxum Catholicae, ut loquimur, Eccleſiae judicio ſubmittere; vel, ut Quintus Cicero aliis verbis fratri (32) ſubridens ait, *ne communia jura migrare videatur*, is advertat velim, eum in libris *de Divinatione* (qui, ipſo (33) pluries dicente, horum *de Natura Deorum* ſunt tantummodo continuatio) larvam ſibi apertè detrahere, ac eadem omnino ſuo ipſius nomine affirmare. Sed, ne mentem ejus non caperent tandem Lectores, ſubverens, ſatis ſpeciatim ſubjectam illorum Librorum ſententiam in fine ſecundi *de Divinatione*, his verbis (34) declarat. *Ut verè loquamur, Superſtitio fuſa per gentes oppreſſit omnium ferè animos, atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit; quod & in iis Libris dictum eſt, qui ſunt* de Natura Deorum, *& hac* Diſputatione *id maximè egimus: multum enim & nobiſmetipſis & noſtris profuturi videbamur, ſi eam funditus ſuſtuliſſemus. Nec verò* (*id enim diligenter intelligi volo*) *ſuperſtitone tollendâ Religio tollitur: nam & majorum inſtituta tueri, ſacris caeremoniiſque retinendis, ſapientis eſt; & eſſe praeſtantem aliquam aeternamque Naturam, & eam ſuſpiciendam admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi or-*

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(32) De divinat. l. 1. c. 5.

(33) Conferatur cap. 8. l. 3. de Nat. Deor. cum 7. l. 1. de divinat. & potiſſimùm cum cap. 1. l. 2.

(34) Ibid. c. 72.

doque rerum coeleſtium cogit confiteri. Quamobrem, ut Religio propaganda etiam, quae eſt juncta cum cognitione naturae; ſic ſuperſtitionis ſtirpes omnes ejiciendae. Eadem regula in *Tuſculanis Diſputationibus*, & aliis omnibus dialogis perlegendis, eſt ſedulò obſervanda, ut in Argumentis iis praefixis fuſius explicabimus: non quòd ſollicitus ſim quaenam fuerit Ciceronis de ulla re ſententia (cùm nullius in verba jurandum cenſeam) ſed ut criticè tantùm & hiſtoricè lecturis de vera ipſius mente, ſeu erraverit necne, conſtaret. Argumentis praecipuè opus eſt ante *Orationes*, quae ideo minus placent & intelliguntur quàm reliqua Ciceronis opera, quia perpetuae inibi alluſiones & provocationes ad Leges fiunt. Quamvis Orator enim & Juriſconſultus non iidem (ut a millibus ineptè putatur) fuiſſent, & quòd *Orationes* hae tantùm a recentioribus fori actitationibus, quantùm Romanae Reipublicae Proceres a conductis Advocatis differant: legum tamen Romanarum non ſolùm peritiſſimus, ſed in omnibus itidem Juris ſubtilitatibus, tricis, & argutiolis erat Cicero verſatiſſimus, quod ab illo Juriſprudentiae & Franequerae ſuae ornamento, Antonio Schultingio, luculentiſſimè (35) demonſtratum eſt. Non poſſum quin, hac occaſione, unicum ex oratione pro *L. Murena*, adducam locum, ubi quorundam Juriſconſultorum ſcribendi ratio (quod de Medicis nonnullis aequè verum eſt)

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(35) In Oratione de Juriſprudentia M. T. Ciceronis.

falsè

ſalsè (36) perſtringitur; quòd mirifico ſcilicet inanium aut barbararum vocum involucro ſua omnia ex induſtriâ obtegant: *quae dum erant occulta* (inquit noſter) *neceſſariò ab eis, qui ea tenebant, petebantur; poſtea verò pervulgata, atque in manibus jactata & excuſſa, inaniſſima prudentiae reperta ſunt, fraudis autem & ſtultitiae pleniſſima.* Sed ut de Graecis in totum ſileam, quòd nullâ ſeu a Juris ſeu a Medicinae ingenio, neceſſitate adacti ita Latinè ſcribant recentiores, ſatis ſuperque teſtantur Celſus Medicus, & illi, quorum in *Pandectis* habemus fragmenta, doctiores Juriſconſulti. Ut obiter dicam, fragmenta, quotquot extant, *duodecim Tabularum* ad calcem librorum *de Legibus*, propter non leves rationes, ſuo loco dicendas, inſerere operae pretium duxi.

XVII. Art. 7. VARIAE alicujus momenti *Lectiones* hactenus in lucem emiſſae, cum plurium manuſcriptorum codicum collationibus, a me ipſo vel ab amicis factis, ad uniuſcujuſque paginae calcem adjicientur. Hic labor non invitè nec ignavè impendendus eſt, cùm antiqui ſcriptores fuerint ab indoctis librariis miſerum in modum lancinati, & in illâ ſaeculorum barbarie, non omnes duntaxat faedè lacerati, ſed plerique etiam ad interitum perducti; adeo ut ullos ex tanto naufragio ſupereſſe, pro miraculo habendum ſit.

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(36) Cap. 12.

At nugas iſtas, quibus librum & famam ſuam onerare geſtiunt quidam editores, maximâ qua poſſit ſedulitate evitabimus; quales ſunt meri deſcriptoris lapſus, aut voces quae utroque modò aequè commodè ſcribuntur: utrùm (verbi gratiâ) *tanquam* vel *tamquam*, *unquam* vel *umquam*, *paenè* vel *penè*, *foelix* vel *felix*, *caeterùm* vel *ceterùm*, *imprimis* vel *inprimis*, cum talibus innumeris, legere debeamus. Nec ſimilia nudè unquam proponuntur, ſed criticis (ſi Diis placet) obſervationibus ſemper ad oſtentationem comitata. Modi quinetiam loquendi, quibus promiſcuè uti poſſumus, aut nunquam pro variis lectionibus aut ſimpliciter tantum allegari debent. An opus erat ut celeberrimus Jacobus Gronovius, qui aliàs non malè de Cicerone meritus eſt, notam, triginta verſibus & charactere conſtantem minutiſſimo, (37) conderet? qua ſeriò diſcuteret, utrùm *ad confirmandum & confutandum* ſcribendum eſſet, an *ad confirmandum & ad confutandum*, praepoſitione nempe repetitâ: cùm dicere ſatius fuiſſet, utrumque ſcribendi modum eſſe probum & aequaliter uſurpatum; quod de *in*, & *ab*, & *e*, ac aliis perinde praepoſitionibus, intelligi debet. Aures hic non membranae conſulendae. Quando ergo varia aliqua lectio eundem exprimet ſenſum, & puram etiam ab utraque parte latinitatem, tunc vocem eam aut phraſin textui inſeram quae ipſi auctori conſuetior, vel fide manuſcriptorum firmatior: ſic in Cicerone *duo excellentes ingeniis adoleſcentes* malo, quàm *duo excellentis ingenii adoleſcentes*, ut & *in iſta barbaria* quàm *in iſta barbarie. Inſcientia* verò & *Inſcitia* ita promiſcuè utitur Orator, ut ſolus periodi numerus utramlibet praeponderare faciat. Scire velim, quare Lambinus adverbium *quoque*, ex ſua conjecturâ, adverbio *quidem*, manuſcriptorum auctoritate firmato, praepoſuerit in hoc (38) loco? *Vide, quaeſo, ſi omnis motus, omniaque quae certis temporibus ordinem ſuum conſervant, divina ducimus, ne tertianas quidem febres & quartanas divinas eſſe dicendum ſit*; ubi *quidem*, ſi non idem prorſus ac *quoque* ſignificat, magis eleganter & emphaticè hic inſervit. Tales itaque miſerrimas conjecturas, & ſyllabarum captationes, in totum ex noſtra editione eliminabimus. Operoſam hanc provinciam miro ſtudio excoluit Gulielmius. Sic *genium* in loco quodam ſub finem (39) primi *de Legibus*, invitis codicibus, prae *ingenio* mallet; quaſi *ingenium* illic non magis eſſet appoſitum. Quamvis enim idem pleramque ſignificent, cùm *Genius* tamen pro ſpiritu ab humana mente diſtincto ſaepe accipiatur, non dubito quin Cicero, ubi de hominis ſui ipſius & facultatum naturalium cognitione tractat (quod ibi facit) *ingenium* conſultò ſcripſerit. Paucis interjectis verſibus, nullâ neceſſitate nec manuſcriptorum fide compulſus, *a natura ſubornatus* excudendum voluit *natura ſua ornatus*; quod deformare potiùs quàm emendare eſt. Quàm multos locos ſanos ſatis & caſtigatos ſic jugularunt malcferiati Critici? ut ingenii ſui acumen, & ne nihil ex ſe afferre aut effeciſſe videantur, oſtendant. Quantum, per Deum immortalem! tineis, blattis, & cariei debent nonnulli? qui voculis appendendis, & dimetiendis literulis, non levem gloriam aucupantur; ac ea propter antiquos legunt auctores, ut mendas offendant aut faciant, non ut qualemcunque illinc utilitatem vel ſibi vel aliis proferant. Hujus generis eſt quod Gruterus in locum ſequentem (40) confert: *quantum intervallum tandem inter te atque illum interjectum putas?* Eleganter omnino dictum. Quid igitur corrigendum? *Tollas intervallum* (inquit) *tollas interjectum, nihil diſceſſerit de auctoris ſententia*: quaſi Cicero tam Laconicâ uſus eſſet ſcribendi ratione, ut non unico verbo, praeterquam quod ſenſui ſuo exprimendo abſolutè neceſſarium eſſet, uteretur; cùm in ſententiarum explendis numeris (ſoluta namque Oratio ſuos non minus quàm conſtricta numeros habet) ſit maximopere ſedulus. Copioſa profectò apud Ciceronem omnia, ſed nihil ſupervacuum; quo verò copioſior, eo melior. Res, ut mea fert ſententia, prorſus intoleranda eſt, conjectores hoſce quid Auctorem ſcripſiſſe vel decuit vel oportuit, ſibi definiendum arrogare; praeſertim cùm alicujus tantùm mendoſi codicis omiſſione ſuffulti ſint. *Nec abducar* (inquit Quintus (41) Cicero) *ut rear, aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare, aut eandem gentem in fulguribus errare.* Exclamat Gruterus, (42) *Vix potui refraenare manum, quin ejicerem illud*, ut rear, *quòd nullo apice compareret in Palatino primo aut ſecundo; & certè Latinè loquetur Tullius, quamvis reſecetur.* Sed non minùs Latinè loquetur ſi permaneat; nam ex earum phraſium numero eſt, quae tam adeſſe quàm abeſſe, ſermonis filo non interrupto, poſſunt: & cùm in pluribus inſit bonae notae codicibus, aptius erat indicaſſe in duobus illis nequaquam extare. Sed quid iſti non audeant? Una ex Gronovii conjecturis minùs excuſanda videtur. Super his Ciceronis (43) verbis, *at enim qui Patriâ poteſtate, hoc eſt Privatâ quâdam, Tribunitiam poteſtatem, hoc eſt Populi poteſtatem, infirmat, minuit is majeſtatem.* Gronovius, *non opinor quenquam*, inquit, *credidiſſe, aut crediturum ſic ab Cicerone ſcribi potuiſſe.* Explicationes illas Patriae & Tribunitiae poteſtatis intelligit. Sed obliviſcitur haec eſſe illius *conſtitutionis* ſubjecta exempla, quam Rhetores vocant *definitivam, qua vis vocabuli* (ut idem exponit ibidem Cicero) *definienda verbis eſt,*

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(37) Ad Cap. 13. l. 3. Rhet. ad Heren.

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(38) Ad Cap. 10. l. 3. de Nat. Deor.
(39) Ad Cap. 22. l. 1. de Leg.

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(40) Ad c. 5. Orat. pro C. Rabirio.

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(41) De Divinat. l. 1. c. 18.
(42) Ad hunc locum.
(43) De Inventione, lib. 2. c. 17.

ut ſi aliquis ſic copioſiùs diceret: ſi perduellio, quae conjuratio tantùm & rebellio eſt contra hominem mortalem, anguſtiſſimae ditionis magiſtratum, res adeo flagitioſa cenſenda ſit; quanto magis blaſphemia, quae ſummi numinis rerum omnium conditoris, eſt degradatio quaedam & defamatio? Voces *blaſphemia* & *perduellio*, ſine verbis hic adjectis definitivis, ab omnibus juxta intelliguntur; attamen hodierni concionatores ſacri, non minùs quàm veteres Gentilium oratores, ſic efficaciùs auditorum animos commovendos arbitrantur. Pauciſſima allego e pluribus exempla. Aliud eſt variarum lectionum genus a ſanis editoribus praetereundum, quando aequè de tranſcriptoris inſcitia, ac de ejuſdem oſcitatione, aut nimia feſtinatione, liquidò conſtat. Quomodo (inquit (44) Cicero) *aut mentientem, quem* ψευδομενον *vocant, diſſolvas? aut quemadmodum ſoriti reſiſtas?* Gruterus annotavit, tertium Palatinum manuſcriptum habere *autem non mentientem*, quartum *aut non mentientem*: quaſi publico magni intereſſet ſcire, deſcriptores olim fuiſſe non minùs imperitos, quàm ſunt hodie plerique Typographi, qui ſubjecti operis ne verbum ſaepe intelligunt; neque pauciora, ſine correctorum recognitionibus, admitterent ubique ſphalmata. Sic in vulgaribus editionibus *pertráctarent* ineptè inſeritur pro *retractarent* in hoc

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(44) De Divinat. l. 2. c. 4.

(45) loco: *qui autem omnia quae ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent & tanquam relegerent, ſunt dicti religioſi e religendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo.* Poſt Gothicam invectam barbariem librorum omnium cura & deſcriptio penes ſolos Monachos fuit, qui tam craſſà laborarunt ignorantia, ut literae tantùm non ſint internecioni datae. Quare ubi loca aliqua Graeca in Scriptore Latino occurrebant, (ſicut in illo jam allegato) appingi ſolebant haec aut ſimilia verba: GRAECUM EST, NON LEGITUR. Immo vacuum multoties relinquebatur ſpatium, cùm Graecas prorſus ignorarent literarum formas. Modis millibus vitiabatur auctorum vera ſcriptura: ut, exempli gratiâ, quando vel dictitans non ſatis clarè & diſtinctè pronunciabat voces cognati ſoni, vel quando deſcribens literas affinis figurae confundebat. Sic dictitans quandoque notariis ſuggeſſit, non quae in exemplari ſuo erant adſcripta, ſed quae ipſe meditabundus cogitabat. Deſcribens ſaepiſſime peccavit ob repetitiones in eodem verſu; unde unâ voce aut ſententia exaratâ, alteram omiſit, putans ſe id jam deſcripſiſſe; cujus etiam & contrarium variantes non ſemel produxit lectiones. Idem de ὁμοιοτελευτοις, ſive de verſibus ſimiliter deſinentibus, dictum eſto: nam hinc omiſſiones multoties ortae ſunt. Calligraphi denique pluribus controverſiis anſam praebuerunt, dum nec delere vocem aut ſen-

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(45) De Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 28.

tentiam ſupervacuam, nec interſerere voluerunt vitioſe praeteritam; ne ſcriptionis ſcilicet decor periret, aut paginae ſpecies deformaretur. At ne excurram, miror Cocmannum, qui libris *de Oratore* emendatiùs edendis non ſpernendam contulit operam, hiſce deſcriptorum lapſibus (quavis ferè paginâ) locum inter variantes lectiones conceſſiſſe. *Nam me haec tua platanus* (inquit (46) Cicero) *admonuit, quae non minus ad opacandum hunc locum patulis eſt diffuſa ramis, quàm illa cujus umbram ſecutus eſt Socrates.* Hic Cocmannus indicat codicem Joanneum habere *ad pacandum*, Pithoeanum & Memmianum, quod Gruterus notavit, *placandum*, alium *occupandum*, alium *oppacandum*; perperam certè & ineptè omnes. *Eloquentia* (addit Tullius in eodem capite) *Rempublicam diſſipaverunt.* Hic iterum Cocmannus poſt Gruterum ex Pithoeano adducit *diſparuerunt*, ac *diſparaverunt* conjicit licentiùs (ut ſolet) & infeliciſſimè Gulielmius. Nihil idcirco hujus farinae in noſtra Editione, niſi breviter aliquando indicatum, comparebit: neque tantum mihi ipſi unquam permittam, ut quenquam propter opiparas haſce delicias, vel notatas ſcrupuloſiùs vel neglectas, ſtipitem appellem, fungum, bardum, aſinum, temerarium, impudentem, aut ineptum; ac multo minùs ut nequam, maſtigiam, ſceleſtum, ferum & ferreum, ſacrilegum, plagiarium, moechum, vel caprarum maritum, talem nominem. At ſi ſcurrilitas exemplis probari poſſet, ſique in rebus tantillis his ipſis vel pejoribus utendum eſſet Epithetis, non ignoro quàm celebribus etiamnum viventium nominibus factum tueri valerem. An artis ergo tam eximiae eſt, codices Manuſcriptos evolvere, edacem pulverem excutere, maculas a vetuſtate vel librariis inuſtas tollere, & variantes inter ſe conferre lectiones? ut regnum hinc chartaceum, in liberrima literarum republica ſibi arrogare quidam & palam affectare debeant? Obliterata & olentia verba e tenebris diligenter eruunt, ceſſêre forſan non infeliciter correctiunculae: ſed quàm miſella ſuperbiendi cauſa? quàmque exile eruditionis ſpecimen, in apicibus verborum & interpunctionibus non mediocriter eſſe verſatum? Non minimam itaque aliorum vel proprii temporis particulam, in famoſis Criticorum rixis & contentionibus, otioſus profundam; rectè quippe ſentientium rationes producere contentus, neque malam ullam neque bonam ſum oberrantium, niſi admodum raró, facturus mentionem. Ne meas unquam aut aliorum conjecturas, probis invitis manuſcriptis, in Textum audaciùs inveham, ſanè quàm diligentiſſimè cavebo. Hoc eſſe facinus non magis arrogans quàm ridiculum cenſeo nec ſegniùs vitandum quàm aliorum, ut ſuperiùs dixi, importunitas, qui mendoſis codicibus omnia emendare volunt. Sed non minùs ferè poſt Typographiam repertam invaleſcit quàm antea, quando librarii quicquid proprio palato non ſatis ſapiebat, pro lubitu immutare aut delere conſueverant. Mirum quantâ licentiâ ſibi in hac Sparta adornanda imperitiſſimi quique indulgebant, quaſi futuris Criticis materiam ſuppeditaturi. Tunc etiam temporis extitit inſulſa illa Divinatorum natio, quorum plerique, ut nunc, illotis manibus ad haec ſacra accedebant, ac omnia ideo deturparunt, profanarunt, corruperunt. Quae non ſatis bene intellexerant, vel aliis planè verbis, vel perperam adhibitis interpunctionibus, corrigere voluerunt. Omittebant aliquando quae ſuperflua, addebant quae neceſſaria videbantur. Voces aequipollentes, vel quas tales eſſe crediderunt, originariis ſaepe ſubſtituebant; & eruditorum gloſſemata ex margine in Textum invehere, non ſolis in more fuit Criticis ſacris. Quaſcunque ergo comperero, quave linguae Latinae, quave ſententiarum reſpectu, variantes alicujus momenti lectiones, ſedulus eas (uti dixeram) adnotabo; honeſtâ ſemper commemoratione omnium promerentium factâ, & ſuis unicuique inventis aut emendationibus (dummodo tanti ſint) adjudicatis, utcunque ab illis alio quopiam pacto diſſentiam, quod ſine verborum contumelia facere poſſum. Univerſis itaque (ut recolligam) lapſibus & hallucinationibus librariorum praetermiſſis, frivolis & temerariis rejectis conjecturis, muliebribus convitiis & pedaneis vitilitigationibus evitatis, ac codicibus manu exaratis (unde varias hauſerim lectiones) ſine ullis annectis commentatiunculis indicatis; facillimè inferas, anguſtius iſtam partem in noſtra editione ſpatium occupaturam, etſi multò majorem forſan quàm in ulla alia variarum verarumque lectioum copiam producturi ſimus. Locus hic, ut paucula quaedam adjiciam, me admonet. Cùm fuerint ex eruditis, qui, inter alias ſcribendi rationes, de *ſtilo Lapidario* nonnihil tradiderint, miror nullos adhucdum extitiſſe, qui de *ſtilo Variolectionario* (ut ſic dicam) pro rei dignitate commentarentur: nam ab omni alio ſermonis genere immenſùm quantum diſcrepat! Sed voluntate pro ratione plerumque redditâ, certè merus Regius ſtilus eſt. Concise (ut multi dudum obſervarunt) abruptè, verbulo, nutu, ex ſolio effatur Criticus. *Non Latinum* (inquit) *hoc, haud iſtud placet, verba illa aſteriſco vel obelo notanda, mutilus hic locus, id demum rectè: reſeco haec, deleo, ejicio, jugulo; ſic ſcribo, ſic muto, ſic diſtinguo, ſic reſtituo,* & mille ſimilia. Nec ſine cauſa. Sicut enim inter hiſtriones, qui Regias partes agunt, extra theatrum quoque ferociores aliis & tumidiores reperiuntur; ita Grammaticos, abſolutum in pueros imperium exercere ſolitos, ſtilum hunc e quotidiana loquendi conſuetudine uſurpaſſe, non vero eſt abſimile. Haec idonea fortaſſis ratio eſt, quare contradici ſibi tam aegrè & impatienter ferant, ac, ob leviuſculam de lana caprina controverſiam, non inimicitias ſolùm implacabiles adverſariis denuncient; ſed, ſtrictis ſemel & felle illitis calamis, omnia ſibi, tanquam in vero bello, licere putent. Si claritati autem, quam imaginantur, & celebritati ſuae vel minimum detractum iri olfaciunt, tunc contra hoſtium famam (bene quòd non contra vitam & fortunas poſſint) quibuſvis arreptis armis immaniter graſſantur; non juſtum enim eſt ampliùs bellum, ſed furor, laniena, caedes, incendia, vaſtationes. Sic ipſi de meris quiſquiliis tragicè loqui ſolent. Cùm non ſanguis tamen, ſed atramentum ſit in critico certamine profundendum, pauci admodum ex ſeculi noſtri pugilibus ferulaceam iſtam majeſtatem vel laedere vel imminuere verentur.

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(46) Lib. 1. c. 7.

XVIII. Art. 8. TAMETSI integras unius, aut plurium editorum, *Notas explicatorias* non mihi in conſiliis ſit ſubtexere; ad Graevii ſcilicet inſtitutum, qui fuit recentiorum Criticorum facile praeſtantiſſimus: textus nihilominus non adeo nudus & incomitatus prodibit, ac in Victorii, Gruteri, & Gronovii editionibus: omnibus enim locis hiulcis, difficilibus, ambiguis, vel meritò controverſis, breves quidem ſed locupletes adjungam Annotationes, auctoribus (uti jam dixi) ritè laudatis, quando aliena verba ſunt vel obſervationes. Neque heic loci, non amplius quàm in illo Variantium lectionum capite, me moroſorum hominum jurgiis & altercationibus admiſcebo. *Aſconius Pedianus* & *Anonymus Scholiaſtes*, a Gronovio primùm & Graevio ſuis editionibus inſerti, proprium in noſtra locum obtinebunt: atque hic etiam, inter Notas explicatorias, addetur Latina verſio omnium Graecarum vocum & ſententiarum, quae tam frequenquenter in Ciceronis operibus, maximè autem in *Epiſtolis ad Atticum*, occurrunt. Philoſophorum denique neotericorum inventa (quae putantur) & ſententias vel hypotheſes, cum locis quibuſdam noſtri Philoſophi, ex vetuſtioribus plerunque citatis, ſtrictè paſſim conferam. Abſit tamen ut hinc inferam Ciceronem ab illis expilatum, aut alios antiquos auctores, quos ne legiſſe quidem ex iis videntur quamplurimi. Ut ad ipſas jam redeamus Annotationes, primùm quaero, cur oram libri interiorem rebus illis onerarem, quae multo dilucidiùs & magis enucleatè enarrata in ipſo leguntur contextu? In Oratione *pro A. Cluentio*, verba haec (47) & ſequentia nullâ indigent commentatione. *Quid ergo? negaſne illud judicium eſſe corruptum? non nego; ſed ab hoc corruptum non eſſe confirmo. A quo igitur eſt corruptum? opinor, primùm, ſi incertum eſſet*—& ſic idoneis argumentis probare pergit, magis veroſimile videri judicium illud ab Oppianico quàm a Cluentio corruptum. At Franciſcus Sylvius haec addenda putavit. *Primùm, , ſi incertum fuiſſet*] *illud a fictione argumentum eſt. Si incertum fuiſſet quam ſententiam Judices laturi eſſent, veriſimiliùs fuiſſet judicium corruptum ab Oppianico, qui timuiſſet ne condemnaretur; quam à Cluentio, qui veritus eſſet ne Oppianicus abſolveretur: ſed quum nemini dubium fuerit, quin Oppianicum, duobus jam praejudiciis condemnatum, condemnaturi fuiſſent; certum eſſe*

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(47) Cap. 23.

debet ab Oppianico de cauſa diffidente, non a Cluentio bene omnino ſperante, corruptum judicium. Vera haec omnia; ſed meliùs, clariùs, breviùs, in ipſa leguntur Oratione. Tales notationes quid aliud ſunt, niſi ſupervacanea textus in margine iteratio? ubi tamen ſuperfluum nihil, aut longè petitum ineſſe debuit. Sed quomodo aliter fieri poterat, ſi grande volumen omnino conficere ſtatuit Sylvius, aut notulas ubique indiſcriminatim congerere ſui eſſe officii, ad aliorum inſtar, exiſtimavit? Nonne utraque forſan ratione inductus, ad haec verba (48) *nemo eſt enim qui invidiae, ſine veſtro ac ſine talium virorum praeſidio, poſſit reſiſtere,* addit in margine? *Invidia eſt mala gratia, & malevolentia ex improbo aliquo facinore, aut hujuſmodi facinoris ſuſpicione contracta, aut improbi alicujus hominis ſermone excitata: quae tantum habet momenti, tantum virium ad opprimendam etiam innocentiam, ut eam viro forti metuendam eſſe Ariſtoteles, libro Ethicorum tertio, ſcribat.* Nihil hic fortaſſis ſine Ariſtotelis auctoritate intelligeremus. At pudet horum. Talia (ſi voles) in Ethico aliquo tractatu appoſitè dici poterant, ſed minimè gentium in hoc loco. Omnes ergo morales illi loci communes, qui maximam partem Annotationum in imperfecta Graevii editione abſolvunt (ut & aliorum Criticorum, qui in iſtam congeriem non ſunt admiſſi, centones) ex noſtra prorſus ſine ulla gratia aut exceptione ejicientur, cùm de legentium captu liberaliùs multò ſentiamus. Quàm otioſe idem Sylvius ad haec tritiſſima ejuſdem Orationis verba, (49) *pro veſtra humanitate*, dixit? *aliquando ſpargendae ſunt laudes Judicum, ut magis fiant benevoli; idque breviter faciendum, nequa ſuſpitio aſſentationis ſubrepat*; quaſi Rhetoricae praecepta tradere, non Ciceronianos exſolvere nodos teneretur. Ut Sylvium dimittam, non mihi unquam jactanter attribuam quae vel ab omnibus ferè, vel ab uno aliquo, ante me obſervata ſunt. Benè quidem (ut ſolet) obſervavit Daviſius, in nupera *Tuſculanarum Diſputationum* editione Cantabrigienſi, turpiter erraſſe Euſtathium, qui Pherecydem Syrium Babylonium fuiſſe finxit; nec minùs hallucinatos eſſe Auguſtinum Epiſcopum Hipponenſem & Joannem Tzetzen, qui non Syrum tantùm, ſed & Aſſyrium eum fecerunt. At illud ſibi minimè arrogare debuit, quod & ipſe, ut alios nunc praeteream, in meis *ad Serenam Epiſtolis* dudum (50) correxi. *Pherecydes Syrius* (inquit (51) Cicero) *primùm dixit animos hominum eſſe ſempiternos*. Ad hoc rectè animadvertit Daviſius in vulgatis pravè *Syrum* legi, ac, poſt Auctores de Syro inſula natali Pherecydis loco allatos, ovans exclamat, *ut dubium eſſe nequeat quin veram lectionem reduxerim*; quaſi id non feciſſent, quos aliàs nominabo, orbi literatorum univerſo notiſſimi Critici. Sed Gruterum hic non emendavit Gronovius. Haec e millibus pauca exempla, eaque breviora, ad codicum aperturam excerpſimus. An opus erat Hottomannum, ut plures non addam, Medeae nomine in Oratione *pro lege* (52) *Manilia* prolato, veneficae illius hiſtoriam ex Ovidio fuſiùs recitare? aut cui bono fabulas & fictiones Poeticas in tali opere pueriliter inſerere, niſi parùm cognita ſit hiſtoriola aliqua, aut ſit alluſio forſan non ſatis clara? Sed abſque notis his Mythologicis, & Ciceronis, vel aliorum ſcriptorum, locis parallelis ſive geminis, qua ratione (uti dixi) magnum librum, qui magnum ſaepenumerò malum eſt, fabricare poſſent notarum Architecti? Sic Manutius, ſic alii excreverunt. Tales non una in regione novimus, qui ſcitulè de libris ex mole judicare ſolent. *Quis ergo* (ut cum Rolando Mareſio (53) querar) *tot notas, tot obſervationes ferat? quouſque tot variis, ac ſaepe vanis lectionibus omnes librorum margines implebuntur? in his enim parergis magna fit temporis jactura; quibus dum vacat juventus, & circa voces haeret, res plerumque (quod praecipuum eſt) non ſatis attendit: & aliquando e manibus excutiuntur ſcriptores ipſi, antequam plenè ſint perpenſi & perlecti. Certè citiùs totum Ciceronem evolvero, quàm decimam partem Notarum & Commentariorum in eum ſcriptorum. Quid? ſi tot Critici, dum me-*

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(48) Cap. 1.

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(49) Cap. 10.
(50) Ep. 2. n. 5. pag. 28.
(51) Tuſc. Diſput. lib. 1. c. 16.

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(52) Cap. 9.
(53) Lib. 1. ep. 17.

dicas manus adferunt, libros, quos ſanatos volunt, pejus perdunt? Quapropter conſimilibus undequaque corrogatis ſententiis, quaſque non rarò in alieno loco infulciunt, turgentes pulchrè & intumentes efficiunt paginas. Si juſtae voluminis ſpiſſitudini aliquid deeſſe videtur, hoc in veterum ritibus prolixè nimis & ſuperſtitiosè enucleandis reſarcire norunt. Hactenus Mareſius. Plures adhuc ineptiſſimos Notarum conflandarum modos commemorarem (ut illi communi ferè omnium, ſeſe invicem ſcilicet ad nauſeam uſque compilandi & tranſcribendi, conſuetudini non immorer) ne, dum ſpecimen exhibeo, Satyram me in literatos conſarcinatores perſcribere opineris. Sufficiat igitur, quòd prolixis iſtis omnis generis praelectionibus ablegatis, notas idoneas, ſed verbis quàm pauciſſimis, locis ubique dubiis aut obſcurioribus me adhibiturum iteratâ vice ſpondeam. Cùm res etiam exiget, *non liquere* ingenuè fatebor. Sed ut caput antecedens cum bello Criticorum, ita hoc, quod prae manibus eſt, cum pace claudam: plauſus illos intelligo perſtrepentes, & effuſiſſimas laudes, quas in ſe ſuique ſimiles, ſine modo ullo aut pudore congerunt. Adblandiuntur ſibi invicem & aſſentantur, ut paria nempe retrahant elogia, vel majora forſan eliciant: nam illis ſeſe encomiis, propter nugas ſuas eruditas magnificè exornant; quibus celſiſſimi Principes & ſupremi Imperatores, ob res praeclarè geſtas, decorari ſolent. Sed, his non ſatis faſtui ipſorum aut ambitioni facientibus, propria ſibi excogitant praeconia; unus namque Galliae ſol eſt, alius Britanniae ſydus, hic eſt Germaniae ocellus, ille Hollandiae phoenix, & quintus denique ſalus Muſarum atque ſal eſt, flos & elixir literarum. Quòd ornamenta, lumina, ſenatores ſint, ac dictatores Reipublicae literariae, vulgaria haec omnia: Zoilus enim novâ luce literas illuſtrat, eas nunc ſolus excolit Bavius & labantes ſuſtentat, in hiſce unicus latè regnat Orbilius, & totum ſibi devinxit orbem Maevius; talis enim *Marcus*, non *Manius*, uti debuit, hucuſque appellatus eſt, &, *Decimus* ille, non *Decius* erat dicendus. Clariſſimi ſunt omnes, ſummi viri, eruditiſſimi, praeſtantiſſimi; immò celeberrimi, etſi nihil unquam ſcripſerint, nec ipſis noti ſint vicinis. Sed Titulos hos abjectè paſſim conferendo vice ſuâ exorant, & tantùm non extorquent. Quamvis hujus generis delinimentis palpum aliis plerique obtrudunt, ſibi tamen ex merito contingere nulli dubitant. Sed fricare ſeſe mutuò & demulcere pergant, dum nos ad finem properamus.

XIX. Art. 9. PRAETER Indices quoſdam peculiares, *Index rerum & verborum* erit multo quàm hactenus auctior, nec unica inde aberit vox Ciceroniana; quo pacto vicem praebiturus eſt Indicum, quos *in uſum Delphini* vocant, & plures Indices quàm ſit neceſſe, commodiſſimè antevertet. Caput hoc, ut longior ſim, haudquaquam exigit. Hoc tantùm adjiciam (nobiliſſime vir) quòd ultra novas cujuſcunque generis emendandi potiores rationes, & opportunam ſupervacaneorum & nugatoriorum omnium expulſionem, omnibus inſuper nervis contendam, ut quicquid in aliis quibuſvis editionibus praeſtat & praelucet, haec una complectatur. Sed quia in Indicum mentionem incidimus, non ab re erit datâ hac occaſione admonere, Indicem locorum maxime inſignium in libris apologeticis pro *Religione Chriſtiana* e Cicerone eſſe conflandum, quod eum commendare haud leviter debet. Graecis quidem Patribus facem praeferebant Euhemerus, Oenomaus, & hujus generis ſcriptores, qui fabuloſos illos, Phyſicos, & Politicos gentium ligneos & lapideos Deos, omnium ludibrio exponere, ac tot annorum ſecreta traducere, non ſunt veriti nedum religioni habuerunt. Latinis autem Patribus Cypriano, Tertulliano, Minutio, Lactantio, aliiſque in eadem acie verſantibus, arma ſimul & ſumtus ſolus ferme exhibuit Cicero, ut ex ipſis eorum operibus, & locis a Commentatoribus indigitatis facilè perſpicuum eſt. Et Tullius profectò prae cunctis mortalibus Superſtitionis malleus dici poterat. Ne modum verò excedere in hac ei laude tribuenda videar, in teſtem advoco Arnobium omni exceptione majorem. *Adduci enim* (54) *primùm* (inquit) *hoc ut credamus non poſſumus, immortalem illam praeſtantiſſimamque Naturam diviſam eſſe per ſexus; & eſſe partem unam mares,*

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(54) Lib. 3. adverſus Gentes.

partem eſſe alteram foeminas; quem quidem locum plenè jamdudum homines pectoris vivi, tam Romanis literis explicavere, quàm Graecis; & ante omnes Tullius *Romani diſertiſſimus generis (nullam veritus Impietatis invidiam) ingenuè, conſtanter, & liberè, quid ſuper tali opinatione ſentiret pietate cum majore monſtravit. A quo ſi res ſumere judicii veritate conſcriptas, non verborum luculentias, pergeretis, perorata eſſet haec cauſa; nec ſecundas, ut dicitur, actiones nobis ab infantibus poſtularet. Sed quid aucupia verborum, ſplendoremque ſermonis, peti ab hoc dicam? cùm ſciam eſſe non paucos, qui averſentur & fugiant libros de hoc* (55) *ejus, nec in aurem velint admittere lectionem opinionum ſuarum praeſumta vincentem: cùmque alios audiam muſſitare indignantes, & dicere, oportere ſtatui per ſenatum aboleantur ut haec ſcripta, quibus Chriſtiana Religio comprobetur, & vetuſtatis opprimatur auctoritas. Quinimo, ſi fiditis exploratum vos dicere quicquam de Diis veſtris, erroris convincite Ciceronem, temeraria & impia dictitare refellitote, redarguite, comprobate: nam intercipere ſcripta, & publicatam velle ſubmergere lectionem; non eſt Deos defendere, ſed veritatis teſtimonium timere.* Proh hominum inconſtantiam! quod hic muſſitabant duntaxat & minabantur Ethnici, ipſi poſtea revera perfecerunt Chriſtiani; ut in argumento docebimus libri tertii *de Natura Deorum.* Ante *Indices* (quod paene oblitus eram) collocabitur integer de Cicerone articulus, ſuis inſertis locis Additionibus, ex *Bibliotheca Latina* viri antea laudati, ſtupendaeque eruditionis, Joannis Alberti Fabricii; qui Editores quotquot hactenus fuerunt ac Commentatores, ſeu totius operis ſeu alicujus ſeorſum partis, ſummo candore, judicio, & induſtriâ recenſuit. Idem praeſtitit non in reliquos modò antiquos ſcriptores Latinos, ſed etiam in Graecos: & ejus certè *Bibliotheca Graeca* nullo non pretio digna eſtimabitur, dum ullus Literis manebit honos.

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(55) Libros ſcilicet de Natura Deorum, de Divinatione, & de Fato, qui ſunt ejuſdem contra ſuperſtitionem abſoluti operis tres partes.

XX. SED hic te, pro humanitate tua, obteſtor atque obſecro (HOHENDORFI) ut neminem ex amicis tuis, quales ſunt omnes verè eruditi, tam immaniter errare ſinas; quaſi Grammaticos nimis protervè, ſi non iniquè quidem, exagitare gaudeam; & Criticos non increpare duntaxat, ſed & vilipendere prorſus videar. Veteris aevi faſtidio (inquiet forſan aliquis) vel noſtri inductus contemtu, utriuſque aſpernatur monumenta Tolandus. Ego certè confiteor, nulla me neque praeſentis, neque praeteriti temporis admirari vitia: ſed quòd Grammaticos aut Criticos deſpiciam, id jure merito nego; nec permittam ut ullus homo (quiſquis ſit) vel ipſi arti, vel iis qui eâ peritè utuntur, me plus unquam tribuat. Quis etenim, niſi Grammatices diſciplinâ penitus imbutus, congruè, purè, aut eleganter eloqui poſſit;

poſſit, nedum origines linguarum & etymologias tradere? Quis, niſi arte Criticâ pollens, rectè vel propriè, res eligat, aut falſum a vero, ſublime ab humili, genuina a ſpuriis ſecernat? Quis ambigua aperiat, quis enodet perplexa? Quis denique, hiſce deſtitutus adminiculis, APTE, DISTINCTE, ORNATE ſcribere valeat? quod artis princeps Cicero praecepit, quodque in ſymbolum mihi (bonis utinam avibus) ſelegi. Non Artis ergo, ſed hominum adnoto defectus: nec omnium ſanè, quod longè abſit, ſed illorum ſolummodo qui de rebus nihili ſunt ineptè glorioſi & qui putamen pro nucleo rodunt; qui vaniſſimâ ſcientiae oſtentatione tumefacti, in nugis tamen amant conſeneſcere; qui litibus ſeſe alioſque implicare geſtiunt, nec facillimè tantùm in maledicta erumpunt, ſed bajulorum & cerdonum convitia ſibi invicem dicunt. Tales olim extitiſſe, dicaces vitilitigatores, ac etiamnum extare, quis ſanus inficias iverit? Sed quis inde paucorum vitia toti ordini affricanda putet, aut omnibus indiſcriminatim objiciat, quod in quoſdam modò convenit? Hoc eſſet ejuſdem te criminis rerum ſiſtere quod in aliis redarguis, & turpiter in illis errare quae docere profiteris. Ceterùm non iſta, quam reprehendimus, ſtili acrimonia, canina facundia, litigandi prurigo, & rerum minutarum amplificatio, ita Grammaticis propria ſunt, ut in nullos ex aliis profeſſionibus aequè cadant appoſitè: ex nullâ ſiquidem arte peculiariter haec profluunt, cùm inter omnium ſcientiarum

rum cultores reperiantur, qui nullum vel exiguum habeant judicium; ſed a natura & ingenio adveniunt hominum, qui bonos aut malos, rixoſos aut pacificos in quovis negotio ſeſe neceſſariò oſtendunt. Philoſophi non minùs aliquando deſipiunt quàm Philologi, nec rariùs Theologi animas hominum quàm Medici corpora perdunt, pravè dictis & factis. An hinc ergo deridendi Theologi omnes, Medici, & Philoſophi? vel an ipſa Philoſophia, Medicina, & Theologia prohibendae penitus ſunt & proſcribendae? Quis talia dicere, quod nefas equidem cogitare, ſuſtinuerit? Theologos tamen, exempli gratiâ, novimus, qui dicta quaeque & facta aliter ſentientium in ſequiorem partem trahant; qui nullum unquam, quem ſibi conſtituunt adverſarium, niſi depexum bene laceratumque dimittant, qui ſpeciem aliquam ſuis offuciis non paratiores ſint addere, quàm errata ullo pacto agnoſcere tardiores; qui propter res leviſſimas, pias chimeras, & nugas (ut ſic dicam) ſacerrimas, diſſentientes omnes orco religioſe tradant. Sed quid hoc ad ipſam Theologiam? Non ſoli ergo Grammatici in hujuſmodi ſordibus ſeſe volutant; nec ſoli quoſvis in arenam provocare, &, ut quiſquis emineat, gradu ſuo depellere nituntur: non ſoli Critici ſuperciliofe, immo regiè, decidere de omnibus ſibi ſumunt; nec ſoli famam aliorum, & labores, calumniis onerare ſatagunt. Vides itaque, vel potiùs alii videant (cùm ingenium meum tibi probiùs notum ſit) non obtrectandi me, ſed corrigendi ſtudio abreptum, quorundam Grammaticorum naevos ad finem capitis decimi ſeptimi, ut & decimi octavi, liberiùs annotaſſe; neminem verò, neque vivum neque mortuum, nomine ſuo compellaſſe, cùm nemini vel inimiciſſimo ſuccenſeam. Non poſſum hercle non abjectè de quibuſdam ſentire, & ſimulator eſt qui aliud obtendit: Sed ut animus in ipſos non eſt exacerbatus, ſic nec effrenis erit lingua. Errores eorum (cum opus fuerit) ingenuè patefaciam; judicio ſuo aequis relicto lectoribus, qui poſthabito, velimus nolimus, partium ſtudio, ſuum cuique tribuent, quod & alii omnes ſeriùs ocyùs facturi ſunt. Si Criticos, quorum eſt judicium habere acre, ſolidum, inſigne, vilipendendos objicerem, propria vineta imprudens caederem, cùm Grammaticum in hac Ciceronis editione, & Criticum, ipſe pro viribus agam. Duas interea hominum claſſes facilè animadvertas, illos ſcilicet qui artis Grammaticae Profeſſoribus, vel eo ipſo nomine veram humanitatem & ſolidam doctrinam denegent; & illos, e contrario, qui omnes, exceptis Criticae Profeſſoribus, a literarum ſacris tanquam profanos procul arcent. His videntur primi in alienam meſſem falcem ſuam immittere; & illis videntur poſtremi non res ſuas peragere. Injuſti omnino utrique. Quid in Joanne Georgio Graevio, dum viveret, magis praedicares & admirareris, ſtupendam ac tantùm non infinitam doctrinam, vel modeſtiam inſuper, candorem, aequanimitatem,

tatem, mores cultiſſimos ſimul & caſtiſſimos? Deus bone, quàm erat ſui impertiens! qualis in vultu, in voce hilaritas! quàm amans Libertatis! quantus in ſermone lepos, quanta in ſcriptura gravitas! Grammaticus tamen, Criticus, & Profeſſor nulli ſecundus. Praeſtantiſſimus item vir, & nunquam ſine honore nominandus, Ezechiel Spanhemius, nuperus ſereniſſimi Regis Boruſſorum Legatus extraordinarius, quamvis aulicae vitae & politicae imprimis deditus, non minùs tamen in reconditiſſimis Criticae myſteriis initiatus & verſatus eſt, quàm ullus unquam Profeſſor, ac a Profeſſoribus ipſis laudes immenſas retulit. At quàm longè aberant faſtus, acrimonia, adfectatio, invidentia, maledicentia! Dies me deficeret, ſi plurimos viventes hoc ipſo tempore & florentes recenſeam, qui tametſi non literarum humaniorum ſint Profeſſores, nullis tamen in hiſce ſtudiis ſtipendium merentibus primas cedunt. Quot etiam Profeſſores mihi hodie notiſſimi, & ad extremum uſque halitum venerandi, qui moribus politioribus & omni genere urbanitatis, non minùs Academias ſuas, quàm doctrinâ & judicio, illuſtrant. Sed nemo e tam multis nomine citandus venit, ne vel gratiam foeda adulatione aucupari, vel reliquos (contra inſtitutum meum) ipſo ſilentio notare videar. At mores quorundam & ingenium coloribus tam vivis expreſſi, ut eos agnoſcere non ſit admodum difficile. Verum hoc fortaſſe. Non mihi tamen in animo fuit ullum ſeorſum in ſcenam producere, ſed mente ſimpliciſſimâ & verâ fide contra ipſa vitia contendere. Si in alicujus autem offenſionem propterea incurri, in promptu eſt reſponſio, *Qui capit ille facit*. Alii quidam non tam timendi ſunt, quàm ratione quavis negligendi, *quorum mentes* (ut noſter (56) loquitur) *anguſtae, humiles, pravae, oppletae tenebris ac ſordibus*, in quibus per me ſanè ad lubitum jaceant invidi, inviſi, ignavi, inglorii.

XXI. AD te jam me converto, (inclyte Baro) qui non meus duntaxat, ſed & ipſarum Literarum es Patronus, ut finem nimirum huic ſermoni aliquando faciam. Si penſum hoc ſuſcepiſſet abſolvendum ex tuis doctior aliquis, non magno modò me levaret onere, ſed maximâ etiam liberaret invidia. Inviſuros autem praevideo non unius ordinis homines. Praecipuè labores noſtros Theonino rodent dente, qui alienae famae & induſtriae ſunt aemulatores, oſores, detractores; & qui quicquid arduum aut generoſum ab ullo conceptum & tentatum eſt, imminuere id & in comtemtionem adducere totis nituntur viribus. Deinde ſunt impatienter laturi noſtros conatus, qui vel hoc ſolo nomine quòd noſtri ſint, eos vitio & culpae dabunt. His non ſatisfacimus forſan quia vivimus. Sed utrorumque malignitas non magis me morabitur, quàm otioſorum ſeveritas, qui maledicere potiùs quàm nihil dicere in popinis & circulis amant. Reliqua pars hominum, quae major & melior eſt, ſine amore, ſine cupiditate, ſine odio, ſine invidia judicabit. Ut autem me totum liberrimè tibi patefaciam, nihil me incitatiùs impellit ad hanc Ciceronis editionem perficiendam, quàm ut ſtilus, qui eſt dicendi opifex, pleniſſimè mihi limatus & efformatus evadat: is verò eſt meâ ſententia ſtilus optimus, qui ad id quod decet, omni rerum varietate perpenſâ, prudenter accommodatur; ut magna nempe graviter, ornatè grandia, mediocria temperatè, enucleatè minora dicantur, ac ſplendidè cùm opus fuerit vel ſubtiliter. Sed quorſum, inquies, hic de ſtilorum generibus diſcurſus? Ut poſtquam Critica haec & ſalebroſa expeditè evaſero, ad Hiſtoriam condendam, & res pulcherrimas ſcriptis decorandas, me accingam. *Quis neſcit* (ut divinè, ſicut omnia, (57) Tullius) *primam eſſe Hiſtoriae legem, nequid falſi dicere audeat, deinde nequid veri non audeat? nequa ſuſpicio gratiae ſit in ſcribendo, nequa ſimultatis?* Sed ſtudium hocce & lux quaedam veritatis nequaquam eſt ſufficiens, cùm Hiſtoria ſit pariter teſtis temporum & magiſtra vitae. Oportet igitur ut rerum & temporum ordo diſtributè ſervetur; ut clarè dicta & tersè conveniant rebus, perſonis, & locis; ut cauſae factorum & eventus proferantur, non recenſeantur minuta & inutilia, neque intermiſceantur digreſſiones importunae; ut non ficta denique pro factis, aut limus (ut dicitur) pro limpha venditentur, ſicuti abundè videre eſt in Voluſianis quibuſdam chartis, quae non aliâ quàm Vulcani luce dignae ſunt. Ita quidem ſe res habet, ut omne a me hactenus ſcriptum, aut denuo ſcribendum, velut in tranſcurſu elaboratum velim cenſeas; huic enim, quicquid egerim, ſemper intentus ſum operi, quo nomina illorum, quos ibi collaudo, in Honoris templo immortalitati conſecrarem: quoque reliquos, patriae praeſertim proditores, inuſtos veriſſimis malefactorum notis, traderem etiam hominum memoriae, hoc eſt, ignominiae & infamiae ſempiternae. Spes eſt itaque, ut poſt tot in Ciceronem lucubrationes impenſas, Latinè ſaltem, non duodecim Tabulas, loquar: quamvis non Ciceronianorum quorundam exemplo (de quibus in *Diſſertatione Hiſtorico-Critica*) ita Romani eloquii pomoeria coarctare affectem, & intra tam anguſtos redigere cancellos, ut non ex Senecis, ex Plinio utroque, ex Tacito, ex Quintilianis, ex Suetonio, ex Frontino & Vegetio, ex Aulo Gellio, ex Panegyricis & Rhetoribus antiquis, ac ex aliis aeneae & ferreae aetatis auctoribus (qui aetatibus ſuis ſaepe meliores) vocabula deſumam a ſanioribus Grammaticis recepta. Orationem quaſi teſſellato opere, Graeca Latinis interſpergendo (ut quibuſdam uſui venit) non ſolùm non contexam; ſed dum ea deferbuerit inſuper expectabo, ne quid praecox, inconditum, aut inemendatum edam. Nobiliſſimum mihi conſtituo argumentum, rerum illam mutationem, & quaſi orbem converſum Reipublicae, ab anno no Aerae Chriſtianae M.DC.LXXX.VIII. ad ſecundi hujus pro Europae libertate belli exitum, ſive Pax futura ſit ſtabilis & honeſta, ſive Bellum Pacis nomine callidè involutum. Cauſa ſcribendi principalis eſt Jacobi Regis ob regnum male adminiſtratum (attentatâ ſupra leges poteſtate, ſuppoſitoque regni haerede) abdicatio & exauctoratio: cauſa verò finalis eſt, Regiae ſucceſſionis in ſereniſſimam familiam Electoralem Hanoveranam (propter avitam noſtram conſervandam libertatem) legitimè tranſlatae confirmatio & ſtabilimentum. Hinc cum auguſtiſſimis Caeſaribus, cum ſacro Romano Imperio, cum praepotentibus Batavorum ordinibus, cum aliis itidem Regibus & Rebuſpublicis, pro aris & focis contra eundem Gallicum tyrannum dimicantibus, foedera non ſemel ſancita, & armorum juncta ſocietas. In hoc Theatro utramque paginam factura eſt EUGENII gloria, cujus etſi rerum geſtarum ſtudio ſim incenſus, ſatisfacere etiam MARLBURII laudum immortalitati mirabiliter cupio. Equidem dicam ex animo quod ſentiam, & quod tibi ſaepe jam dixi; ſi mihi inimicus fuiſſet MINDELHEMII Princeps, tamen ei, cùm tantas res pro publica Libertate contra perpetuum Britanniae noſtrae hoſtem geſſiſſet, gereretque dum licuit quotidie, non amicus eſſe non poſſem. *Obſtupeſcent poſteri certè imperia, provincias, Rhenum, Moſam, Danubium, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victorias, monumenta, munera, triumphos ejus audientes & legentes*; in primis cùm huic ſoli e noſtratibus *non dubitarint foederati credere omnia, & cùm unus inter tot annos repertus ſit, quem ſocii in urbes ſuas cum exercitu veniſſe gaudeant.* Talem tantumque Heroa verbis ornandum Ciceronis putavi, ipſius utpote ſequutus exemplum, qui profitetur ſe, in *Commentario de Conſulatu ſuo* inchoando, *totum Iſocrati* Μυροθηκιον, *atque omnes ejus diſcipulorum arculas, ac nonnihil etiam Ariſtotelia pigmenta* (58) *conſumſiſſe.* Quis futurus eſt Anglus ille, qui centum abhinc annis non ſe popularem eſſe MARLBURII gloriabitur? ut nos Edoardum tertium & Henricum quintum, Monfortios & Talbotos, ſine partium ſtudio nunc jactamus. O praeclarum de illo GULIELMI Regis glorioſiſſimi teſtimonium! *Nemini* (inquit) *mortalium eſt ſedatius cerebellum aut corculum concitatius:* conſilium innuens deliberatiſſimum ſimul ac fortiſſimum animum, metaphoris uſus in noſtra lingua multùm uſitatis. Nec ego dubito, quin ſeris nepotulis, de celebratiſſimo ejus nomine diſquirentibus, reſpondeant parentes vel magiſtri, ut Cicero quondam de Trebonio: virum eum fuiſſe, *qui libertatem populi Anglicani unius amicitiae praepoſuit, depulſorque dominatus quàm particeps eſſe maluit.* Hinc illae lachrymae. Sed de eo juſtis praeconiis efferendo reſtat in ipſo opere campus ampliſſimus: nec ulli mehercle alii de patria cariſſima, aut de communi foederatorum cauſa bene merito, laudando deerimus. Si vis ergo tandem ſcire ad quam normam exigenda eſt Hiſtoria noſtra, cùm privatis affectibus haudquaquam res metiri ſoleamus, illam nobis ſuppeditavit in libro primo *de Officiis*, tuus meuſque Cicero. *Omnino*, (59) inquit, *qui Reipublicae praefuturi ſunt, duo Platonis praecepta teneant; unum, ut utilitatem civium ſic tueantur, ut quaecunque agunt ad eam referant, obliti commodorum ſuorum: alterum, ut totum corpus Reipublicae curent, ne, dum partem aliquam tuentur, reliquas deſerant. Ut enim tutela, ſic procuratio Reipublicae ad utilitatem eorum qui commiſſi ſunt, non ad eorum quibus commiſſa eſt, gerenda eſt. Qui autem parti civium conſulunt, partem negligunt, rem perniencioſiſſimam in civitatem inducunt, Seditionem atque Diſcordiam: quo evenit ut alii populares, alii ſtudioſi optimi cujuſque videantur, pauci univerſorum. Hinc apud Athenienſes magnae diſcordiae, in noſtra Republica non ſolùm ſeditiones, ſed peſtifera etiam bella civilia: quae gravis & fortis civis, & in Republica dignus principatu, fugiet atque oderit; tradetque ſe totum Reipublicae, neque opes aut potentiam conſectabitur, totamque eam ſic tuebitur, ut omnibus conſulat. Nec verò criminibus falſis in odium aut invidiam quemquam vocabit, omninoque ita juſtitiae honeſtatique adhaereſcet, ut dum ea conſervet quamvis graviter offendat; mortemque op-*

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(56) Orat. poſt redit. in Senatu, c. 4.

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(57) De Orat. l. 2. c. 15.

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(58) Ad Att. l. 2. ep. 1.

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(59) Cap. 25.

petat potiùs, quàm deſerat illa quae dixi. Miſerrima eſt omnino ambitio honorumque contentio, de qua praeclarè apud eundem eſt Platonem: ſimiliter facere eos, qui inter ſe contenderent uter potiùs Rempublicam adminiſtraret, ac ſi nautae certarent quis eorum potiſſimùm gubernaret. Cynoſuram meam ſimul aſpicis, HOHENDORFI, & Diſſertationis finem. Vale.

Dabam 4 Non. Sept. 1712

CONJECTURA VEROSIMILIS,

DE PRIMA

TYPOGRAPHIAE INVENTIONE.

Viro nobiliſſimo, tam antiquâ proſapiâ,
quàm multiplici doctrina ſpectabili,

HUGONI WROTTESLEIO
ARMIGERO,
Hoſpicii Lincolnienſis Socio Digniſſimo,
S. P. D.
JOANNES TOLANDUS.

SI minùs expectationi, tamen poſtulationi tuae, quae mihi pro imperio eſt, ſatis me hodie facturum confido. Locus itaque ad Artem Typographicam quoquomodo ſpectans, quem tibi dixi a me in CICERONE annotatum, ſic ſe habet in capite viceſimo (ſicuti diſtinxerunt recentiores) libri ſecundi *de natura Deorum*; ubi BALBUS Stoicus, contra VELLEIUM Epicureum, ſequentibus argumentatur verbis. *Hîc ego non mirer eſſe quemquam, qui ſibi perſuadeat, corpora quaedam ſolida atque individua vi & gravitate ferri; mundumque effici ornatiſſimum & pulcherrimum, ex eorum concurſione fortuita? Hoc qui exiſtimet fieri potuiſſe, non intelligo cur non idem putet, ſi innumerabiles unius & viginti Formae literarum (vel aureae, vel quales libet) aliquò conjiciantur; poſſe ex his in terram excuſſis Annales* ENNII, *ut deinceps legi poſſint, effici: quod, neſcio, anne in uno quidem verſu poſſit tantum valere Fortuna.* Huic argumento neque veri hilum, neque ſolidi, ab Epicureis reponi poterit: ſed alia nunc res agitur.

CONFERAMUS igitur hanc Tullianam pericopen cum uſitata Imprimendi ratione, rebus utrinque & verbis breviter expenſis. Typi illi, quibus libri ab anno circiter 1445 excuduntur, metallici ſunt & fuſiles; ex mixtura nimirum plumbi, ſtanni, & ferri, vel aeris conſtantes. Vulgò vocantur *Formae literarum*, ex hoc ipſo CICERONIS loco captatâ proculdubio nominis occaſione. Et quidni exinde (ſicut ego quidem ſuſpicor) res ipſa ſuggeri primùm potuiſſet vel JOANNI GUTTENBERGIO Argentoratenſi, vel JOANNI FAUSTO Moguntino, vel LAURENTIO COSTERO Harlemenſi; vel, ut uno verbo dicam, cuivis alii viro ſagaci, & experimentorum non incurioſo? nam de primo Inventore nihil ego definio, nec litem iſtam meam facio. Sermo mihi tecum eſt de prima Idea, quae huic Inventori ſeſe obtulit, quamque è CICERONE hauſtam perquam probabile arbitror. Multò preſſiùs & clariùs ad rem Typographicam faciunt *innumerabiles* illae omnium Alphabeti *Literarum formae* metallicae, *quales aureae* ſunt, vel adhuc cum CICERONE noſtro *quales libet* (quaſi ligneas inſuper innueret) quàm locus ullus, qui ex antiquioribus citari poſſit, alius.

INTEREA tamen ſi non ab invicem ſeparatae exhiberentur hae CICERONIANAE Formulae metallicae, more planè hodierno; ego cum nonnullis, inter quos OSORIUS Luſitanus & JOVIUS Italus, potiùs credidiſſem Typographiam per PAULUM Venetum, aut alium quemlibet, acceptam a Sinis: quorum tamen imprimendi ratio, ut ſanè antiquiſſima, ſic a noſtra tota aliena eſt. Diverſitas (inquam) haec, & illae *Formae literarum innumerabiles*, me aliò trahunt; adeo ut Sinarum Patroni re ipſâ, quod validiſſimum eſt argumenti genus, confutari videantur. Si hujuſmodi quidpiam ab iis acceperunt gentes occidentales, illud Chalcographia, non Typographia fuit.

IPSA denique phraſis *imprimendi literas* apud TULLIUM occurrit, in capite decimo tertio libri primi *de Divinatione*. Sed minimè timendum eſt, cum celeberrimo PETRO LESCALOPERIO, ne ex hujuſmodi locis adoleſcentes ſibi perſuadeant, cognitam fuiſſe Romanis (1) Typographiam: cùm inde ſolummodò concludendum ſit, uti egomet nunc concludo; nimirum, quod, ſi hujus inventi ſuggeſtio ab ullo antiquorum manaverit, ea CICERONE imprimis tribuenda videatur.

CETERUM, ne Sinas tam ſubitò dimittam, facilè potuiſſent in eorum imprimendi modum incidere Europaei, ſi nullus unquam (quod de nullo mehercle conſtat) eum in Europam advexiſſet. Ex uſu quippe quotidiano idem aliquibus in mentem venire, non res erat uſquequaque inſuperabilis neque tam ardua: nam ab omni retrò tempore poſt literas repertas, *ferro calorato* (ut cum (2) ISIDORO ſic loquar) *notas pecoribus inurebant* eorum magiſtri, quod a (3) COLUMELLA *Charactere ſignari* vocatur; quae voces, *Notae* ſcilicet, *Characteres*, & *Signa*, in ſermone Typographico jamdudum uſurpantur. Longo ante COLUMELLAM & ISIDORUM intervallo, VIRGILIANI (4) Paſtores

Continuòque notas & nomina gentis inurunt.

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(1) *In Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. Sect.* 93.
(2) *Origin. lib.* 20. *cap. ult.*
(3) *De re ruſtica, lib.* 11. *cap.* 12.
(4) *Georg. lib.* 3. *ver.* 158.

Nomina verò, niſi per literas, ſignari, non video qua ratione fieri poſſit. Arator, apud eundem (5) Virgilium,

> *Aut pecori ſignum, aut numeros impreſſit*
> *acervis:*

qui modus imprimendi ex anulis itidem ſignatoriis addiſci potuiſſet; quum, dicente (6) Festo, *ſignare ſignificet modò ſcribere, modò anulo ſigna imprimere, modò pecora ſignis notare.* Sed ut verum cum Scholaſticis barbarè dicam, *a poſſe ad eſſe non valet conſequentia*; cujus effati tot extant Demonſtrationes, quot ſunt Inventiones novae.

VERUM enimverò non omnino a ſcopo noſtro alienus eſt locus quidam, in Procopii *Hiſtoria Arcana*, inſignis certè & memorabilis; quem hic integrum, e Graeco in Latinum ab Alemanno verſum, adducere libet. *Tempore deinde procedente* (inquit ανεκδοτων (7) ſcriptor) *magnam is* [Justinus] *conſequitur potentiam, praetorianis militibus praefectus ab* Anastasio *principe; qui, ubi fato conceſſit, eâ fretus* Justinus *praefecturâ capeſſivit Imperium, ſenex jam licet capularis: &, quod Romanis antehac non evenit, adeo literarum expers, &, quod ſcribitur, Analpha-*

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(5) *Ibid. lib.* 1. *ver.* 263.

(6) *In voce* ſigno.

(7) *Pag.* 28. *Edit. Lugd.*

betus, ut cùm ſui ſoleat nominis apices libellis indere Princeps, cùm quid imperat faciundum; ipſe neque imperare, neque compos eſſe poſſet rerum gerendarum, ſed Proclus, *qui officio Quaeſtoris fungebatur, eique aſſidebat, omnia faceret pro arbitrio. Verùm, ut aliquod Imperatoris manus extaret argumentum, a magiſtratu, qui id muneris habet, excogitatum hoc eſt. Tabellae ligneae perpolitae formam quatuor literarum, quae legi Latinè poſſint, incidendam curant; eâque libello impoſitâ, calamus* (8) *colore imbutus, quo ſcribere mos eſt Imperatoribus, huic principi tradebatur in manum: quam alii prehenſantes ducebant, circumagebantque calamum per quatuor illas literarum formas, nempe ſingulas tabellae inciſuras; atque ita demum, iis ab Imperatore literis reportatis, recedebant.*

VIDEAS hìc quatuor literarum formas (nempe I V S T colore aliquomodo) imbutas, vel regendo potiùs calamo idoneas: non impreſſas tamen chartae, neque chartam iis ſuperinductam aut ſuperimpoſitam. Quod ſi & idem hoc factum fingas, hodiernam nihilominus imprimendi ideam neque expreſſiſſet neque ſuggeſſiſſet. Id liquidò praeſtant, & ipſis quaſi oculis ſubjiciunt (ut ſatis indicavi ſuperiùs) Ciceronis formae literarum innumerabiles,

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(8) *Color iſte non atramentum, ſed purpuramentum fuit; ſive Encauſtum Imperatorium ex murice factum vel cinnabari.*

rabiles, metallicae, fuſiles, mobiles; quod conjicere me, non vero affirmare, ſemper quaeſo memineris. At ne res per ſe clara nimiâ luce reddatur obſcura, verbum ſuper hoc argumento non addam amplius. Vale.

DE GENERE, LOCO, ET TEMPORE MORTIS JORDANI BRUNI NOLANI.

Viro Illustrissimo

BARONI HOHENDORFIO,

S. P. D.

JOANNES TOLANDUS.

QUAE de Gasparis Scioppii ad Conradum Rittershusium, de morte Jordani Bruni Nolani, *Epiſtola*, à me deſideras (vir illuſtriſſime) ſic ſe habent. Edita primùm eſt in libro rariſſimo, cui titulus, *Macchiavellizatio, qua unitorum animos diſſociare nitentibus reſpondetur, in gratiam Dn. Archiepiſcopi caſtiſſimae vitae Petri Pazman, ſuccinctè excerpta. Saragoſſae,*

goſſae, excudebat Didacus Ibarra, CIↃ. IↃC. XXI. *cum licentia Officii SS. Inquiſitionis*. Liber revera alicubi in Germania excuſus eſt; qua in ſententia me confirmavit doctiſſimus Dominus DE LA CROZE, dum annis abhinc fermè tribus, in Bibliotheca Regia Berolinenſi, ſermones de BRUNO confereremus. Ad eandem hanc Epiſtolam provocavit JOANNES HENRICUS URSINUS, citatus a NICODEMO in *Additionibus ad* NICOLAI TOPPI *Bibliothecam Neapolitanam*: unde ſummopere miror de NOLANI mortis genere, ſi non de loco etiam & tempore, ſubdubitaſſe incomparabilem BAELIUM, in *Dictionarii critici ac hiſtorici* tomo primo, ubi de JORDANO BRUNO. SCIOPPII Epiſtola, denuo Jenae recuſa eſt in Faſciculo quinto *Act. literar.* STRUVII, qui deſcriptum accepit exemplar à viro clariſſimo GOTLOB CRANTZIO, apud Uratislavienſes profeſſore. Illam & nos, utriſque diligenter antea collatis, ſic ritè legendam exhibemus.

CONRADO RITTERSHUSIO ſuo,

GASPAR SCIOPPIUS Fr.

Salutem.

QUAS ad nuperam tuam expoſtulatoriam epiſtolam reſcripſi, non jam ſanè dubito quin tibi ſint redditae; quibus me tibi, de vulgato reſponſo meo ſatis purgatum confido. Ut verò nunc etiam ſcriberem hodierna ipſa dies me inſtigat, qua JORDANUS BRUNUS propter haereſin, vivus videnſque, publicè in Campo Florae, ante Theatrum Pompeii, eſt combuſtus. Exiſtimo enim & hoc ad extremam impreſſae Epiſtolae meae partem, qua de Haereticorum poena egi, pertinere. Si enim nunc Romae eſſes, ex pleriſque omnibus Italis audires *Lutheranum* eſſe combuſtum; & ita non mediocriter in opinione tua confirmareris, de ſaevitia noſtra.

AT ſemel ſcire debes, mi RITTERSHUSI, Italos noſtros inter Haereticos albâ linea non ſignare neque diſcernere noviſſe: ſed quicquid eſt Haereticum, illud Lutheranum eſſe putant; in qua ſimplicitate ut Deus illos conſervet precor, ne ſciant unquam quid Haereſis alia ab aliis diſcrepet. Vereor enim, ne alioquin iſta diſcernendi ſcientia nimis caro ipſis conſtet. Ut autem veritatem ipſam ex me accipias, narro tibi, idque ita eſſe fidem do teſtem, nullum prorſus Lutheranum aut Calvinianum, niſi relapſum, vel publicè ſcandaloſum, ullo modo Romae periclitari, nedum ut morte puniatur. Haec ſanctiſſimi Domini noſtri mens eſt, ut omnibus Lutheranis Romam pateat liber commeatus, utque a Cardinalibus & Praelatis Curiae noſtrae, omnis generis benevolentiam & humanitatem experiantur. Atque utinam hic eſſes, RITTERSHUSI! ſcio fore ut rumores vulgares mendacii damnes. Fuit ſuperiore menſe Saxo quidam nobilis hic apud nos, qui annum ipſum domi BEZAE vixerat. Is multis Catholicis innotuit; ipſi etiam Confeſſario Pontificis, Cardinali BARONIO, qui eum humaniſſime excepit, & de Religione nihil prorſus cum eo egit, niſi quòd obiter eum adhortatus eſt ad veritatem inveſtigandam. De periculo juſſit eum fide ſuâ eſſe ſecuriſſimum, dum ne quod publicè ſcandalum praeberet: ac manſiſſet nobiſcum diutiùs, niſi, ſparſo rumore de Anglis quibuſdam in Palatium Inquiſitionis deductis perterritus ſibi metuiſſet. At Angli illi non erant, quòd vulgò ab Italis dicuntur, Lutherani, ſed Puritani; & de ſacrilega venerabilis ſacramenti percuſſione, Anglis uſitatâ, ſuſpecti. Similiter forſan & ipſe rumori vulgari crederem BRUNUM iſtum fuiſſe ob Lutheraniſmum combuſtum, niſi S. Inquiſitionis Officio interfuiſſem, dum ſententia contra eum lata eſt; & ſic ſcirem, quamnam ille Haereſin profeſſus fuerit.

FUIT enim BRUNUS ille patriâ Nolanus, ex regno Neapolitano, profeſſione Dominicanus; qui, cum jam annis abhinc octodecim de Tranſubſtantiatione (rationi nimirum, ut CHRYSOSTOMUS tuus docet, repugnante) dubitare, imo eam prorſus negare, & ſtatim virginitatem B. MARIAE (quam idem CHRYSOSTOMUS omnibus Cherubim & Seraphim puriorem ait) in dubium vocare coepiſſet, Genevam abiit. Biennium iſthic commoratus, tandem quòd Calviniſmum per omnia non probaret, inde ejectus Lugdunum, inde Tholoſam, hinc Pariſios devenit, ibique extraordinarium Profeſſorem egit, cùm videret ordinarios cogi Miſſae ſacro intereſſe. Poſtea Londinum profectus libellum iſthic edidit *de Beſtia triumphante*, hoc eſt, Papa, quem veſtri honoris cauſâ Beſtiam appellare ſolent. Inde Witebergam abiit, ibique publicè profeſſus eſt biennium, ni fallor. Hinc Pragam delatus, librum edidit *de Immenſo & Infinito*, itemque *de Innumerabilibus* (ſi titulorum ſat rectè memini, nam libros ipſos Praga habui) & rurſus alium *de Umbris & Ideis*; in quibus horrenda prorſuſque abſurdiſſima docet, v. g. Mundos eſſe innumerabiles; Animam de corpore in corpus, imo & alium in mundum migrare; unam animan bina corpora informare poſſe; Magiam eſſe rem bonam & licitam; Spiritum Sanctum eſſe nihil aliud niſi Animam Mundi, & hoc voluiſſe Moysen dum ſcribit eum foviſſe aquas; Mundum eſſe ab aeterno; Moysen miracula ſua per magiam operatum eſſe, in qua plus profecerat quàm reliqui Aegyptii; eum leges ſuas confinxiſſe; ſacras literas eſſe ſomnium; Diabolos ſalvatum iri; ſolos Hebraeos ab Adamo & Eva originem ducere, reliquos ab iis duobus, quos Deus pridie fecerat; Christum non eſſe Deum, ſed fuiſſe Magum inſignem, & hominibus illuſiſſe, ac propterea meritò ſuſpenſum (Italicè *impiccato* non crucifixum eſſe; Prophetas & Apoſtolos fuiſſe homines nequam, Magos, & pleroſque ſuſpenſos. Denique infinitum foret omnia ejus portenta recenſere, quae ipſe & libris & vivâ voce aſſeruit. Uno verbo ut dicam, quicquid unquam ab Ethnicorum Philoſophis, vel a noſtris antiquis & recentioribus Haereticis eſt aſſertum, id omne ipſe propugnavit.

PRAGA Brunſvigam & Helmſtadium pervenit, & ibi aliquamdiu profeſſus dicitur. Inde Francofurtum, librum editurus, adiit: tandemque Venetiis in Inquiſitionis manus pervenit, ubi, diu ſatis cùm fuiſſet, Romam miſſus eſt, & ſaepiùs a S. Officio, quod vocant Inquiſitionis, examinatus, & a ſummis Theologis convictus, modò quadraginta dies obtinuit, quibus deliberaret, modò promiſit palinodiam, modò denuo ſuas nugas defendit, modò alias quadraginta dies impetravit. Sed tandem nihil egit aliud, niſi ut Pontificem & Inquiſitionem deluderet. Ferè igitur biennio poſtquam hic in Inquiſitionem devenit, nuperâ die nona Februarii, in ſupremi Inquiſitoris Palatio, praeſentibus illuſtriſſimis Cardinalibus S. Officii Inquiſitionis (qui & ſenio, & rerum uſu, & Theologiae Juriſque ſcientiâ reliquis praeſtant) & conſultoribus Theologis & ſeculari Magiſtratu, Urbis Gubernatore, fuit BRUNUS ille in locum Inquiſitionis introductus, ibique, genibus flexis, ſententiam contra ſe pronunciari audiit. Ea autem fuit hujuſmodi: narrata fuit ejus vita, ſtudia & dogmata, & qualem Inquiſitio diligentiam in convertendo illo, & fraternè monendo, adhibuerit, qualemque ille pertinaciam, & impietatem, oſtenderit: inde eum degradarunt, ut dicimus, prorſuſque excommunicarunt, & ſeculari Magiſtratui tradiderunt puniendum; rogantes, ut quàm clementiſſimè, & ſine ſanguinis profuſione, puniretur. Haec cùm ita eſſent peracta, nihil ille reſpondit aliud, niſi minitabundus, *majore forſan cum timore ſententiam in me fertis, quàm ego accipiam.* Sic a lictoribus Gubernatoris in carcerem deductus, ibique octiduo aſſervatus fuit, ſi vel nunc errores ſuos revocare vellet. Sed fruſtra. Hodie igitur ad rogum ſive pyram deductus, cum ſalvatoris crucifixi imago ei jamjam morituro oſtenderetur, torvo eam vultu aſpernatus rejecit: ſicque uſtulatus miſerè periit, renunciaturus, credo, in reliquis illis, quos finxit Mundis, quonam pacto homines blaſphemi & impii a Romanis tractari ſoleant.

HIC itaque, mi RITTERSHUSI, modus eſt, quo contra homines, imo monſtra hujus modi, procedi a nobis ſolet. Scire nunc ex te ſtudeam, iſne modus tibi probetur? an verò velis licere unicuique quidvis & credere & profiteri? Equidem exiſtimo te non poſſe eum non probare. Sed illud addendum fortè putabis: *Lutheranos talia non docere neque credere, ac proinde aliter tractandos eſſe.* Aſſentimur ergo tibi, & nullum prorſus Lutheranum comburimus. Sed de ipſo veſtro LUTHERO aliam fortaſſe rationem iniremus. Quid enim dices, RITTERSHUSI, ſi aſſeram & probare tibi poſſem, LUTHERUM non eadem quidem, quae BRUNUS, ſed vel abſurdiora magiſque horrenda, non dico in *Convivialibus,* ſed in iis quos vivus edidit libris, tanquam ſententias, dogmata, & oracula, docuiſſe? Quid? tu hoc non credis? Mone quaeſo, ſi nondum ſatis noviſti eum, qui veritatem tot ſeculis ſepultam nobis eruit; & faciam ipſa tibi loca, in quibus ſuccum quinti illius Evangelii deprehendas, quamvis iſthic anatomiam Lutheri a Pistorio habere poſſitis. Nunc ſi & Lutherus, Brunus eſt, quid de eo fieri debere cenſes? nimirum tardipedi Deo dandum, infelicibus uſtulandum lignis. Quid illis poſtea, qui eum pro Evangeliſta, Propheta, tertio Elia habent? Hoc tibi cogitandum potiùs relinquo. Tantum ut hoc mihi credas, Romanos non eâ ſeveritate erga Haereticos experiri, qua creduntur; & qua debebant fortè erga illos, qui ſcientes volentes pereunt. Sed de his ſatis. *Romae* 17. *Februar.* 1600.

HUCUSQUE Scioppius. Alia quaedam ad Rittershusium perſcripta ſubſequuntur, ſed quae nihil certè ad Brunum.

BRUNIANI ſupplicii hic habemus non auritum modò, ſed magis adhuc credibilem teſtem, oculatum nempe, Gasparem Scioppium; qui Inquiſitoribus, dum Brunus interrogaretur, aderat; quique eundem poſtea in Campo Florae igni devorandum, ab urbis Praefacto traditum, viderat.

A JORDANI ergo morte nullae ſunt vires Pyrrhoniſmo Hiſtorico acceſſurae. Hoc unum tamen inde diſcendum; nullius ſcilicet mortalium auctoritati, ſine debitis allatis probationibus, confidendum, cùm ipſiſſimus BAELIUS in errorem ducat. Eo ipſo, inquies, magis magiſque apparet incertitudo Hiſtorica; neque BAELIUS omni probatione deſtitutus videtur, cùm ſcribat NICODEMUM, in *Additionibus* jam memoratis ad *Bibliothecam Neapolitanam*, affirmaſſe, non omnia, quae ab URSINO ex SCIOPPII Epiſtola allegantur, eſſe vera. At ibi de BRUNI morte non loquitur NICODEMUS, ſed de variis ſententiis ipſi ab Inquiſitoribus & SCIOPPIO malâ fide imputatis; ac certo certius eſt, iſta non eſſe vera omnia, neque veriſimilia, quod & ex ſcriptis ejus clariſſimè liquet, & ex ipſa quidem ſententiarum repugnantia. Solenne hoc eſt Inquiſitoribus, & nunquam non uſurpatum, illos, quos perdere geſtiunt, foedè priùs denigrare; ut pleriſque animi & corporis vitiis contaminati, nullius miſericordiâ, ſed omnium potiùs averſatione, digni cenſeantur. Quo pacto enimvero Daemonum ſalutem (exempli gratiâ) propugnare poſſet BRUNUS, ut olim fecerat ORIGENES, ſi ſacras literas pro ſomniis duxiſſet? aut, rejectis ſcripturis, quinam omnino de Diabolis, vel aeterna ſalute, ſermo ipſi eſſet inſtituendus? Viderint haec S. Officii Patres. Certè per *Magiam* in ſcriptis ſuis nihil aliud unquam intellexit, praeter reconditiorem &

non vulgarem, quamvis maximè naturalem, ſapientiam. Sic aeternam formarum materialium viciſſitudinem, *Tranſmigrationem* quandoque appellat; quo ſenſu iſta apud eum vox ſemper occurrit. Ex his de aliis eſto Judicium.

SCIOPPIUM verò mentem ejus non ubique aſſecutum eſſe, vel inde conſtat, quod libellum *de Beſtia Triumphante* ad Papam referat; cum de Papa ibi nulla facta ſit mentio, & Beſtia haec ſit multifaria Superſtitio, quae credulis (ut vult) hominibus, omni loco & tempore, latè dominatur. Nec accuratiùs diſtinxit SCIOPPIUS ea quae aliis perſonis, pro uniuſcujuſque propria ſententia, viciſſim attribuuntur, ab iis quae ipſe in medium adducit & tuetur BRUNUS; quod, ad Dialogorum leges, rei caput ſemper cenſeri debet.

NE quid tamen diſſimulem, rerum Univerſitatem ex ſola credidit conſtitiſſe materia, & ſtricto quidem ſenſu unam eſſe & infinitam; ac Globos idcirco ſive Terras, vel Planetas potiùs & Mundos, in immenſo aetheris expanſo circa Soles ſuos, vel Stellas fixas, rotari indeſinentes & innumerabiles. Ex iis etiam non paucos, ſi non omnes, Lunis ſuis, ſeu (uti jam loquimur) Satellitibus, comitari aſſeruit. Quae de Anima mundi in libro Italico *de infinito, univerſo, & mundis*, aequivocè diſſerit, cave ne cum Platonicorum ſententia confundas: cum ſpiritum nullum a materiei compage diſtinctum intelligat, ſed ſubtiliorem tantùm ac mobiliorem materiae partem, mechanicè agentem; ut ex attenta patebit lectione iſtorum Dialogorum, in quibus luculenter profectò & eruditè doctrinam hanc *de mundorum pluralitate*, demonſtrat. Veruntamen non is ſum, ut FONTENELLUM hic, vel potius CARTESIUM, plagii incuſem, etſi multorum ſuſpitiones expertus ſit poſterior. De unitate autem rerum indiviſibili, & infinita Univerſi extenſione, videatur alter BRUNI libellus Italicus, *de cauſa, principio, & uno*; ubi omne, quod exiſtit, prorſus eſſe materiale, contendit.

UT obiter dicam, diffuſus valde, ſi non verboſus, ac nimium ingenio ſuo indulgens, in cunctis ſuis ſcriptis videtur. Mundos etiam ſuos (quòd penè oblitus ſum) haud aeternos, quoad praeſentem formam & ſtructuram, ſtatuit, quod planè abſurdum eſt: cùm nihil medium dari poſſit inter praeſtantiſſimam quandam Intelligentiam, quae materiam omnem dirigat ac informet; & aeternam rerum omnium exiſtentiam ac diſpoſitionem, eo ipſo modo quo jam nunc conſpiciendae veniunt. Non Muſca, nedum Mundus, caſu effici poteſt; quod adverſus quoſcunque Epicureos, etſi mediocritatis meae conſcius, in me demonſtraturum ſuſcipio. Nec res contra Platonicos difficiliùs confici poterit; nam uti quod nunquam incepit, nunquam eſt finem habiturum, ſic omne quod factum eſt infectum iri confido: vel aeternus ergo eſt mundus & incorruptibilis, vel creatus aliquando & periturus.

SED hoc non agitur, ut BRUNI opiniones vel approbem vel refellam. Tempus, locum, & genus mortis ipſius extra omnem dubitationis aleam conſtitui; quod ſi tibi (lectiſſime vir) ſatis bene & breviter peractum cenſebitur, tam gratum mihi id erit, quàm quod gratiſſimum. *Attamen*, ut cum CICERONE meo loquar, *quid tibi ego in Epiſtolis videor? nonne plebeio ſermone agere tecum? ſed Epiſtolas*, ut idem ſubjungit, *quotidianis verbis texere ſolemus.* Quod reliquum eſt, percupio ut valeas; meque tibi, meaque omnia, vehementer commendo. *Dat. Amſtelod.* 1709.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
JORDANO BRUNO's BOOK

Of the infinite Univerſe and innumerable Worlds: In five Dialogues:

Written by himſelf in a Dedication of the ſaid Book to the Lord CASTELNAU, Ambaſſador from the French King to Queen ELIZABETH.

Tranſlated from the Original Italian, printed in the Year 1514.

A Prefatory DEDICATION

To the moſt illuſtrious Lord, MICHAEL *de* CASTELNAU, *Lord of Mauviſſier, Concreſſault, and Joinville; Knight of the Order of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, one of the Members of his Privy Council, Captain of fifty Men at Arms, and Ambaſſador to the moſt ſerene Queen of England.*

IF I had held the plow, MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD, or fed a flock, or cultivated a garden, or mended old cloaths, none wou'd diſtinguiſh, and few wou'd regard me; fewer yet wou'd reprehend me, and I might eaſily become agreeable to every body. But now for deſcribing the field of Nature, for being ſollicitous about the paſture of the Soul, for being curious about the improvement of the Underſtanding, and for ſhowing ſome skill about the faculties of the Mind: one man, as if I had an eye to himſelf, does menace me; another, for being onely obſerv'd, does aſſault me; for coming near this man, he bites me; and, for laying hold of that other, he devours me. 'Tis not one who treats me in this manner, nor are they a few; they are many, and almoſt all.

IF you wou'd know whence this does proceed, MY LORD, the true reaſon is; that I am diſpleaſed with the bulk of mankind, I hate the vulgar rout, I deſpiſe the authority of the multitude, and am enamor'd of one particular Lady. 'Tis for her that I am free in ſervitude, content in pain, rich in neceſſity, and alive in death; and therefore 'tis likewiſe for her that I envy not thoſe who are ſlaves in the midſt of liberty, who ſuffer pain in their enjoyment of pleaſure, who are poor tho o'erflowing with riches, and dead when they are reputed to live: for in their body they have the chain that pinches them, in their mind the hell that overwhelms them, in their ſoul the error that makes them ſick, and in their judgment the lethargy that kills them; having neither generoſity to undertake, nor perſeverance to ſucceed, no ſplendor to illuſtrate their works, nor learning to perpetuate their names. Hence it is, even from my paſſion for this beauty, that as being weary I draw not back my feet from the difficult road, nor, as being lazy, hang down my hands from the work that is before me: I turn not my ſhoulders, as grown deſperate, to the enemy that contends with me; nor, as dazl'd, divert my eyes from the divine object.

IN the mean time, I know my ſelf to be for the moſt part accounted a ſophiſter, more deſirous to appear ſubtil, than to be really ſolid; an ambitious fellow, that ſtudies rather to ſet up a new and falſe ſect, than to confirm the ancient and true doctrine; a deceiver, that aims at purchaſing brightneſs to his own fame, by engaging others in the darkneſs of error; a reſtleſs ſpirit, that overturns the edifice of ſound diſcipline, and makes himſelf a founder to ſome hutt of perverſity. But, MY LORD, ſo may all the holy Deities deliver me from thoſe that unjuſtly hate me, ſo may my own God be ever propitious to me, ſo may the Governors of this our globe ſhow me their favor, ſo may the ſtars furniſh me with ſuch a ſeed for the field and with ſuch a field for the ſeed; that the world may reap the uſeful and glorious fruit of my labor, by awakening the genius and opening the underſtanding of ſuch as are depriv'd of light:

ſo may all theſe things happen, I ſay, as it is moſt certain that I neither fain nor pretend. If I err, I am far from thinking that I do ſo; and whether I ſpeak or write, I diſpute not for the mere love of victory (for I look upon all reputation and conqueſt to be hateful to God, to be moſt vile and diſhonorable, without Truth) but 'tis for the love of true WISDOM, and by the ſtudious admiration of this miſtreſs, that I fatigue, that I diſquiet, that I torment my ſelf.

THIS will be made evident by the demonſtrative arguments I offer, drawn from lively reaſons; as theſe are deriv'd from regulated ſenſe, which is inform'd by poſitive Ideas, that like ſo many ambaſſadreſſes are ſent abroad from the ſubjects of nature: being obvious to thoſe that ſeek for them, clear to thoſe that conceive them, diſtinct to thoſe that conſider them, and certain to thoſe that comprehend them. But 'tis time that I preſent you, MY LORD, with my Contemplations about *the infinite Univerſe and innumerable Worlds.*

The Argument of the firſt Dialogue.

IN this Dialogue then you'll find, firſt, that the inconſtancy of our Senſes ſhows they are not the principle of Certitude; which is onely acquir'd by a kind of compariſon, or by conferring one ſenſible object, or one ſenſe with another: and ſo it is concluded that the ſame Truth may be in different ſubjects, as in the ſenſible object and in the underſtanding, as well as how this can be.

SECONDLY, you come to the beginning of the Demonſtration for the infinity of the Univerſe, whereof the firſt argument alledg'd is; that thoſe who by their imaginations wou'd ſet walls or bounds to it, are not able themſelves to aſſign or fix the extremities of it.

THIRDLY, you'll perceive the abſurdity of ſaying, that the World is finite, and that it is in it ſelf: from which notion of *being in it ſelf* (which agrees only to what is immenſe) is taken the ſecond argument for the infinity of the Univerſe.

THE third argument is taken from ſo inconvenient and impoſſible an imagination, as to ſay, that the world is no where; whence it wou'd unavoidably follow, that it has no exiſtence: for every thing whatſoever, be it corporeal or incorporeal, muſt be corporeally or incorporeally in ſome place.

THE fourth argument is taken from this demonſtration, or very urgent objection propos'd by the Epicureans:

Nimirum, ſi jam finitum conſtituatur
Omne quod eſt ſpatium, ſi quis procurrat ad oras
Ultimus extremas, jaciatque volatile telum;
Invalidis utrum contortum viribus ire
Quò fuerit miſſum mavis longeque volare,
An prohibere aliquid cenſes obſtareque poſſe?
Nam ſive eſt aliquid quod prohibet officiatque,
Quò minus quò miſſum eſt veniat, finique locet ſe,
Sive foras fertur, non eſt ea fini' profectò.

THE fifth argument is, that the Definition of Place given by ARISTOTLE (the ſuperficies of the circumambient body) does not agree to the firſt, the greateſt, and moſt common of all places; and that it cannot take in the next and immediate ſurface to the body contain'd, with other ſuch ſlight obſervations that make Place to be a mathematical and not a phyſical thing: for between the ſuperficies of the body containing, and the ſuperficies of the body contain'd (which is mov'd within the ſame) there is always neceſſarily an intermediate ſpace, which according to this Definition ought rather to be reckon'd the place; and if of this ſpace we wou'd only take the ſuperficies, we muſt then (as you ſhall ſee) in an infinite look for a finite place.

THE topic of the ſixth argument is, that by making the World finite, a vacuum cannot be avoided, if that be void where there is nothing; tho we ſhall evince this void to be impoſſible.

THE ſeventh is, that as the Space wherein this World or Univerſe exiſts, wou'd be underſtood to be void, if the world had not been in it; ſo that ſpace muſt needs be void, where this world is not. Had it not been for the World therefore, this ſpace wou'd be indifferent from that, and the one has the ſame aptitude with the other; whence it will follow, that it has alſo the ſame actualneſs; ſince no aptitude is eternal without an actual occupation, and ſo it has the act eternally join'd to its paſſiveneſs, and is it ſelf the very act; becauſe actual and poſſible exiſtence are not different in eternity.

THE eighth argument is, that none of the Senſes excludes infinity, ſince we cannot deny it, merely becauſe not comprehended by any of our ſenſes; but rather aſſert it, becauſe by it the ſenſes are comprehended, and reaſon comes to their help to confirm it: nay, if we further conſider, our ſenſes do ever ſuppoſe infinity, ſince we always ſee one thing terminated by another thing; and that we never perceiv'd any thing by internal or external ſenſe, that was not terminated by a thing, either like it ſelf, or by ſome other thing different from it ſelf.

Ante oculos etenim rem res finire videtur.
Aer diſſepit colles, atque aera montes,
Terra mare, & contrà mare terras terminat omnes
Omne quidem: verò nihil eſt quod finiat extra,
Uſque adeo paſſim patet ingens copia rebus,
Finibus exemptis in cunctas undique partes.

EVEN by what we ſee then, we ought rather to infer infinity than otherwiſe; becauſe nothing occurs in nature that is not terminated by another, and no one thing whatſoever is terminated by it ſelf.

THE ninth argument is taken from hence, that infinite Space can be only deny'd in words, as thoſe who are pertinacious uſe to do; conſidering that ſuch parts of ſpace where the world is not, and which are accounted nothing, cannot be conceived without an aptitude to contain, no leſs than that part which does actually contain.

THE tenth from hence, that if the exiſtence of this our World be good or convenient, it is no leſs good or convenient that there be infinite others like it.

THE eleventh, that the goodneſs of this World is not poſſibly communicable to any other world, as my being is not communicable to this or that other man: the force of this argument you'll ſee in its place.

THE twelfth, that there is no reaſon or ſenſe that ſuppoſes an individual, moſt ſimple, and complicating infinite, but may admit of a corporeal and explicated infinite.

THE thirteenth, that this Space which to us appears ſo great, is neither a part nor the whole with reſpect to infinity; nor can it be the ſubject of an infinite operation, to which what cannot be comprehended by our imbecillity is as a non-entity. And here an anſwer is given to a certain objection; for we ſay, that we do not aſſert infinity for the dignity of mere ſpace, but for that of nature: ſince by whatever reaſon, this ſpace or atmoſphere of ours exiſts, by the ſame reaſon ought the ſpace of every other globe to be, that can exiſt; and whoſe power is not actuated by ours, as the power of the being of ELPINUS, is not actuated by the actual being of FRACASTORIUS.

THE fourteenth argument is taken from this, that if infinite active power actuates a corporeal and dimenſional being, this being muſt be neceſſarily infinite; otherwiſe you derogate from the nature and dignity of that which can make, and of that which can be made.

THE fifteenth, that this Univerſe, conceiv'd in the vulgar ſenſe, cannot be otherwiſe ſaid to comprehend the perfection of all things, than as I comprehend the perfection of all my Members, and as every globe whatever is contain'd in it ſelf; juſt as we ſay, that the man is rich, who wants nothing of what he has.

THE ſixteenth, that the infinite efficient cauſe wou'd be abſolutely defective, without an infinite effect; and yet that we cannot conceive this effect to be purely the cauſe it ſelf: to which we add, that if yet it was or is ſo, nothing however is taken away of that which ought to be in the true effect; whence the Divines have coin'd ſuch expreſſions as God's action *ad extra*, or his tranſient as well as his emanent acts, for thus the one becomes as infinite as the other.

THE ſeventeenth, that as by conceiving the infinity of the Univerſe the underſtanding reſts fully ſatisfy'd; ſo by aſſerting the contrary, it is unavoidably plung'd into innumerable difficulties and inconveniencies: beſides that in this place is occaſionally repeated what was ſaid in the ſecond and third arguments.

THE eighteenth, that if the World be ſpherical, it is likewiſe figurated and bounded; and conſequently, that whatever ſpace is beyond it (tho you may pleaſe to call it nothing) is no leſs figurated, its concavity being neceſſarily join'd to the convexity of the world; for juſt where your nothing begins, there muſt needs be a concavity different from the convexitudinal ſuperficies of this world.

THE nineteenth argument, is only ſome addition to what has been ſaid in the ſecond.

THE twentieth, is an occaſional repetition of what is ſaid in the tenth.

IN the ſecond Part of this Dialogue, that which is already demonſtrated by the paſſive power of the Univerſe, is likewiſe demonſtrated by the active power of the efficient cauſe, and this by ſeveral arguments.

THE firſt is taken from hence, that the divine efficacy cannot ſtand idle; eſpecially granting it any effects diſtinct from its proper ſubſtance (if indeed any thing can be diſtinct from it) and that it muſt be no leſs idle and invidious in producing a finite effect, than in producing none at all.

THE ſecond argument is taken from humane practice, becauſe by the contrary opinion on is aboliſh'd the reaſon of the goodneſs and greatneſs of God; whereas it is ſhown, that no inconvenience follows upon ours to any ſyſtem of Laws or Divinity whatſoever.

THE third argument is convertible with the twelfth of the firſt part: and the difference is declar'd between the infinite whole, and what is wholly infinite.

THE fourth argument is, that omnipotence in making the World finite, is no leſs blameable for not being willing, than for not being able to make it otherwiſe; and alſo, for being an infinite agent upon a finite ſubject.

THE fifth enters into the particulars of this, and ſhows, that if God does not make the World infinite, he cannot make it ſo; and that if he has not power to make it infinite, he has not ſtrength to preſerve it infinitely: nay that if he is finite in one reſpect, he muſt be ſo in every reſpect; becauſe in him every mode is a thing, and every particular mode and thing is the ſelf ſame in him with every other mode or thing. The diverſity conſiſts in our different ways of conceiving him.

THE ſixth argument is convertible with the tenth of the firſt part: and the cauſe is ſhown why Divines, not without expedient reaſon, maintain the contrary; with a word concerning the friendſhip that ought to be cultivated between them and the truly learned Philoſophers.

THE ſeventh argument propoſes the diſtinction, between the oneneſs of the active power and the diverſity of actions, giving the true ſolution of the ſame: beſides, that infinite power acting intenſively and extenſively, is more profoundly conſider'd, than has been ever hitherto done by the body of Divines.

THE eighth argument ſhows, that the motion of infinite Worlds is not from an external mover, but is intrinſecally in themſelves, and yet that there is an infinite mover too.

THE ninth ſhows, that infinite motion is intenſively verify'd in each of theſe Worlds; to which may be added, that from the conſideration of a moveable thing being at one and the ſame time put in motion, and yet moveing of it ſelf, it follows, that it may at one and the ſame time be in every point of the circle it deſcribes about its own centre: but another time we ſhall reſolve this difficulty, when we have leiſure to give a more diffuſive plan of our Doctrine.

The Argument of the ſecond Dialogue.

THE ſame Subject is purſu'd in the ſecond Dialogue, where, in the firſt place, four arguments are produc'd, whereof the firſt is, that all the Attributes of the Divinity are as any one of them. The ſecond, that our Imagination cannot poſſibly be thought to extend beyond the Divine Activity. The third is taken from the indifference of the Divine Intellect and Action, and that infinite is not leſs underſtood than finite. The fourth is built upon this, that if corporeal quality (I mean that which is ſenſible to us) has an infinite active power, what we are to think of all the qualities that are in all the abſolutely active and paſſive power of the univerſe.

THIS Dialogue ſhows, in the ſecond place, that a corporeal thing cannot be terminated by an incorporeal thing, but either by a vacuum or a plenum; and that there is moſt certainly beyond our world a ſpace that is no void, but mere matter, which is what is called the paſſive Power or Expanſe, and wherein the neither envious nor idle Divine Power muſt needs exert itſelf by action. Here is expos'd the vanity of ARISTOTLE's argument, drawn from the incompoſſibility of dimenſions.

IN the third place is ſhown, the difference between theſe expreſſions *the World* and *the Univerſe*; for whoever ſays the Univerſe is one and infinite, and that there are many Worlds, muſt neceſſarily diſtinguiſh between theſe two words.

IN the fourth place are alledg'd the contrary reaſons, whereby the Univerſe has been judg'd to be finite; where ELPINUS repeats all the Arguments of ARISTOTLE, and PHILOTHEUS particularly examines them. Of theſe ſome are taken from the nature of ſimple bodies, ſome from the nature of compound bodies: and the vanity of ſix of ARISTOTLE's arguments is demonſtrated, which are urg'd by him from the definition of ſuch motions as cannot be in infinity, and from ſuch other propoſitions, as are without all foundation, and are but mere begging of the queſtion. This may be clearly ſeen by our arguments, which more naturally ſhow the reaſon of the differences and determinations of motion, and (as far as the place and occaſion permits) explain the more real knowledge of the impulſe of Gravity and Levity: for there we ſhow that infinite body can neither be heavy nor light, and how it is, that finite body receives ſuch differences, and alſo in what caſes it does not. Then again the vanity of ARISTOTLE's reaſonings is made apparent, who, when he argues againſt them who hold the Univerſe to be infinite, ſuppoſes a centre and a circumference (the very thing deny'd him) and, whether the world be finite or infinite, will needs have the Earth to be in the midſt of it. In fine, there's no reaſon great or ſmall produced by this Philoſopher to deſtroy the infinity of the World, either in his firſt book *de Coelo & Mundo*, or in his third book *de Phyſica auſcultatione*, but is diſcuſs'd much more than ſufficiently.

The Argument of the third Dialogue.

IN the third Dialogue, firſt is deny'd that pitiful fancy of the figure of the Spheres, and the number or diverſity of the Heavens; as it is on the contrary affirm'd, that the Heaven is but one, being the general ſpace which contains infinite Worlds: yet we deny not but there may be an infinite number of Heavens, taking this word in another ſignification; for as this Earth has its heaven, which is that region of ſpace wherein it moves and performs its courſe, ſo has every one of the other innumerable Worlds. Then is ſhown, what occaſion'd the imagination of ſo many and ſo great moveable orbs, figurated ſo as to have two external ſurfaces and one internal concavity; with ſuch other receipts and pills as cauſe nauſeouſneſs and ſtupor, as well in thoſe that preſcribe, as in thoſe that ſwallow them.

SECONDLY is ſhown, that the general motion, and that of the eccentrical orbs, and as many other motions as are or can be aſcrib'd to the ſaid firmament, are all chimerical; and that they are nothing elſe but the motion of the Earth upon its own centre thro' the ecliptick, together with four particular differences or determinations of this ſame motion: whence it follows, that the proper motion of every ſtar is taken from the difference which can be ſubjectively verify'd in the ſame, as it moves of itſelf in the ſpacious field of Ether. This conſideration will convince us, that all the arguments for an infinite moveable and an infinite motion, are vain; and purely founded on their ignorance of the motion of our globe.

THIRDLY, it is made plain, that every Star has its motion like this of our earth, and like thoſe others whoſe vicinity makes us ſenſibly diſtinguiſh the particular differences of their local motions: but yet that the Suns, which are bodies wherein fire is predominant, move otherwiſe (that is upon their own centres) than the Earths, wherein water is predominant; and thence alſo is manifeſted, whence the Light proceeds that is diffus'd by the ſtars, of which ſome have this light in themſelves, and ſome have it onely by reflection from others.

FOURTHLY, is ſhown, how bodies the moſt diſtant from the Sun, can participate of heat equally with thoſe that are neareſt it: then is confuted the opinion attributed to EPICURUS, that one Sun was ſufficient for the whole univerſe; and the true difference is ſtated, between thoſe Stars that twinkle, and thoſe that do not.

FIFTHLY, is examin'd the opinion of CUSANUS about the matter and habitableneſs of the Worlds, and about the reaſon of light.

SIXTHLY, how that, tho ſome of thoſe bodies have light and heat of themſelves, yet for all this the ſun does not ſhine to the ſun, as neither the earth nor the ſea to themſelves; but light always proceeds from the oppoſite ſtar, as we ſenſibly ſee the brightneſs of the whole ſea from ſome eminence or mountain, but being in this ſame ſea or in a field, we ſee no more of it bright, than as far as the light of the oppoſite ſun or moon reflects upon it within ſome very ſmall dimenſion.

SEVENTHLY is expos'd the foolery of the Peripatetic *quinta eſſentia*, or fifth element, not changeable as the other four: and then 'tis demonſtrated, that all ſenſible bodies whatſoever are of no other nature than thoſe of this earth; nor conſiſting of any other principles or elements, and that they move no otherwiſe either in a ſtraight line or in a circle. All the arguments throughout are accommodated to the meaneſt capacity, as FRACASTORIUS, a learned man, accommodates himſelf to the underſtanding of BURCHIUS, next to an idiot: and 'tis made evident beyond contradiction, that no change or accident happens here, but the ſame may be ſuppos'd to happen there, as there is nothing ſeen from hence there, but (if we conſider aright) the ſame may be ſeen from thence here; and conſequently that the vulgarly admir'd order and ſcale of nature, is onely a pleaſing dream, or rather the jargon of old doating women.

EIGHTHLY, that however true may be the diſtinction of elements, yet that the vulgar order of elements is neither ſenſible nor intelligible: and, even according to ARISTOTLE himſelf, the four elements are equally parts or members of this Globe, if we do not rather make water predominant; whence the ſtars are properly call'd ſometimes water and ſometimes fire, as well by the true natural Philoſophers, as by Prophets, Divines, and Poets, who in this point did neither vend fables nor metaphors, but left thoſe other clumſy Sophiſters to fabulize and grow children at their pleaſure. Thus the Worlds are underſtood to be thoſe heterogeneous bodies, thoſe animals, thoſe huge globes, wherein the earth is no more heavy than the other elements; and whereof all the parts and particles are mov'd, and change place and diſpoſition, no otherwiſe than as the blood, humors, ſpirits, and inſenſible particles, which perpetually flow in and out in us, and in the other leſſer animals. On this occaſion a compariſon is made of the Elements, whereby it is found that the Earth, by its impulſe towards the center of its own bulk, is not heavier than any other ſimple body that's an ingredient in the compoſition of the ſame; and that the earth of itſelf is neither heavy nor light, neither aſcends nor deſcends, but that it is water that cauſes the coheſion, denſity, ſpiſſitude, and gravity thereof.

NINTHLY, the famous order of the elements being thus exploded, next comes the true account of thoſe ſenſible compounded bodies, which are, as ſo many animals or worlds, in this ſpacious field call'd Air, or sky, or commonly vacuum; wherein, I ſay, are all thoſe worlds, which contain animals and inhabitants no leſs than ours, ſince they are neither inferior in aptitude or capacity, nor many other requiſite qualities.

TENTHLY, after ſhowing the manner of diſputation us'd by thoſe who are pertinaciouſly addicted to their opinions, and by thoſe other ignorant ſots of a deprav'd diſpoſition, 'tis further declar'd how paſſionately they are for the moſt part wont to conclude their diſputes; tho there be others ſo circumſpect, that, without being in the leaſt put out of countenance, they ſtrive to make the auditors believe by a leer, a ſmile, a ſhrug, or a certain modeſt malignity, what they are never able to prove by reaſons. With theſe petty artifices of courteous contempt, they wou'd not onely cover their own ignorance, tho open to all the world beſides, but farther load their adverſaries with it: for they come not to diſpute in order either to find, or indeed to ſeek the Truth, but for obtaining the victory, and to appear more learned, or to be counted more ſtrenuous champions of the contrary ſide; whence theſe and the like ought to be avoided by every man, that has not put on a good cuiraſſe of patience.

The Argument of the fourth Dialogue.

IN the following Dialogue, firſt, a ſhort repetition is made of what has been ſaid elſewhere, viz. how the Worlds are in number infinite, how each of them is mov'd, and is form'd. Secondly, the like tranſient repetition is made of the anſwers which, in the ſecond Dialogue, were given to the arguments againſt the infinite extenſion or greatneſs of the Univerſe. Now, ſince the immenſe effect of immenſe activity and power has been prov'd by many reaſons in the firſt Dialogue; and that, in the third Dialogue, is prov'd the infinite multitude of worlds: we do, in this fourth, reſolve the numerous difficulties of ARISTOTLE againſt the ſame; tho this expreſſion *World* is taken in a different ſenſe by ARISTOTLE, from what it is by DEMOCRITUS, EPICURUS, and others. He therefore from natural and forc'd motion, and from the reaſons he has invented for both theſe, would infer that one earth muſt neceſſarily move towards another, ſuppoſing there be more than one. In the reſolution hereof,

FIRST are laid foundations of no ſmall importance, to diſcover the true principles of natural Philoſophy.

SECONDLY, 'tis ſhown, that tho the ſurface of one earth had been contiguous to that of another, yet the parts of the one wou'd never the more for that move towards the other; underſtanding this of the heterogeneous or compounded parts, but not of the atoms and ſimple corpuſcles: and on this occaſion, a larger explication is given of the nature of gravity and levity.

THIRDLY is examin'd, for what reaſon theſe great bodies are diſpos'd by nature at ſuch a diſtance, and not rather nearer one to another, that a paſſage (forſooth) might be had from the one to the other: and here a reaſon is given unto him who has a deep inſight into things, that Worlds ought not to be plac'd as it were in the circumference of the Ether, or near to ſuch a void ſpace as is deſtitute of all power, vertue, or operation; ſince thus on one ſide they wou'd be wholly and abſolutely depriv'd of the means to have either life or light.

FOURTHLY, how local diſtance changes the nature of body, or when it does not change it: and how it is, that placing a ſtone equidiſtant from two earths, it wou'd remain ſtill there; or from what cauſe it ſhou'd have a determination to move, rather towards one of theſe globes than the other.

FIFTHLY it is prov'd, how much ARISTOTLE is deceiv'd, when in bodies, tho ever ſo diſtant from one another, he places an impulſe of gravity or levity from the one towards the other: and the cauſe is aſſign'd, whence proceeds what is call'd the deſire of preſerving their preſent being, how ignoble ſoever, in all things; this deſire being the cauſe of what is likewiſe call'd appetite and averſion.

SIXTHLY, 'tis demonſtrated, that direct motion, or motion in a ſtraight line, neither is agreeable nor natural to the Earth or to the other principal bodies, but onely to the inconſtituent parts or particles; which, if not too widely ſeparated, tend to ſuch bodies from all places the neareſt way.

SEVENTHLY, an argument is drawn from Comets to prove, that it is not true that a heavy body, however remote, has an impulſe or motion towards its principal or whole; this fancy not being built on true phyſical principles, but on the gratuitous ſuppoſitions of the Philoſophy of ARISTOTLE, who forms and compounds the Comets of thoſe parts we call the vapours and exhalations of the earth.

EIGHTHLY, on occaſion of another argument, (ſhowing the Comets to be real Planets that have nothing to do with this earth) 'tis prov'd that ſimple bodies, which are of the ſame ſpecies in the other innumerable Worlds, are likewiſe mov'd every where after the ſame manner; and how a numeral makes a local diverſity, how every part has its own centre, and has a relation to the common centre of its whole, which ſort of centre is not however to be look'd for in the Univerſe.

NINTHLY is prov'd, that neither bodies nor their parts are determin'd to above or below, otherwiſe than as the place of their preſervation is here or there.

TENTHLY, how motion is infinite, and what moveable it is that has an infinite tendency, and to innumerable compoſitions: yet 'tis prov'd, that, for all this, there follows not a gravity or levity with infinite velocity; that the motion of the proximate parts, ſo far as they keep their being, cannot be infinite; and that an impulſe of the parts towards their Continent or Whole, can never exiſt but within the region of the ſame, or (as we ſay) in the ſphere of its activity.

The Argument of the fifth Dialogue.

IN the beginning of the fifth Dialogue is introduc'd a perſon endow'd with a more happy genius, and who, tho bred up the contrary way, yet for being able to judge of what he heard and ſaw, can perceive the difference between the one and the other Philoſophy, and conſequently is eaſily convinc'd, and as eaſily corrects himſelf. Mention is made of them, to whom ARISTOTLE appears to be a miracle of nature; whereas they, who have the pooreſt underſtanding, and comprehend him leaſt, are they who magnify him moſt. Next are given reaſons why we ought to have pity upon ſuch, and to avoid diſputeing with them, ſince there is nothing to be gain'd with them but loſs of time.

HERE ALBERTINUS, the new Interlocutor, brings twelve Objections, in which conſiſts all the force of the doctrine contrary to the plurality and multitude of Worlds.

THE firſt objection is taken from hence, that without the World there is neither Place, nor Time, nor Vacuum, nor Body ſimple, nor compound.

THE ſecond objection, is from the Oneneſs of the mover.

THE third, from the Places of moveable bodies.

THE fourth, from the diſtance of the Horizons from the Centre.

THE fifth, from the contiguity of more orbicular Worlds.

THE ſixth, from the triangular Spaces they muſt cauſe by their contact.

THE ſeventh, from an actual infinite which is not in being, and from a determinate number not more reaſonable than the other: from which objection we can equally, if not with more advantage, infer, that number therefore is not determinate, but infinite.

THE eighth objection is taken from the terminateneſs or finitude of natural things, and from their paſſive power which correſponds not to the Divine Efficacy and active Power: but here it is to be conſider'd, how mighty inconveniently the firſt and moſt high Being is compar'd to a fidler, who has skill to play, but cannot for want of a fiddle; ſo that he is one that can do, but does not, becauſe that thing which he can make cannot be made by him. This implies a more than manifeſt contradiction, which cannot but be ſeen, except onely by thoſe who ſee nothing.

THE ninth objection, is taken from moral goodneſs, which conſiſts in ſociety.

THE tenth is, that the contiguity of one world to another, wou'd mutually hinder their motions.

THE eleventh and laſt objection is, that if this world be complete and perfect, there is no reaſon it ſhould join itſelf or be joined to any one or more ſuch Worlds.

THESE are the Doubts, Difficulties, and Motives, about the ſolution whereof I have ſaid enough in the following Dialogues, to expoſe the intimate and radicated errors of the common Philoſophy, and to ſhow the weight and worth of our own. Here you'll meet with the reaſons why we ſhou'd not fear that any part of this Univerſe ſhould fall or fly off, that the leaſt particle ſhou'd be loſt in empty ſpace, or be truly annihilated. Here you'll perceive the reaſon of that viciſſitude which may be obſerv'd in the conſtant change of all things, whereby it happens, that there is nothing ſo ill but may befal us or be prevented, nor any thing ſo good but may be loſt or obtain'd by us; ſince in this infinite field the parts and modes do perpetually vary, tho the ſubſtance and the whole do eternally perſevere the ſame.

FROM this contemplation (if we do but rightly conſider) it will follow, that we ought never to be diſpirited by any ſtrange accidents through exceſs of fear or pain, nor ever be elated by any proſperous event thro exceſs of hope or pleaſure; whence we have the way to true Morality, and, following it, we wou'd become the magnanimous deſpiſers of what men of childiſh thoughts do fondly eſteem, and the wiſe judges of the hiſtory of nature which is written in our minds, and the ſtrict executioners of thoſe divine laws which are engraven in the center of our hearts. We wou'd know, that it is no harder thing to fly from hence up into Heaven, than to fly from heaven back again to the Earth, that aſcending thither and deſcending hither are all one; that we are no more circumferential to the other Globes than they are to us, nor they more central to us than we are to them, and that none of 'em is more above the ſtars than we, as they are no leſs than we cover'd over or comprehended by the sky. Behold us therefore free from envying them! behold us deliver'd from the vain anxiety and fooliſh care of deſiring to enjoy that good afar off, which in as great a degree we may poſſeſs ſo near hand, and even at home! Behold us freed from the terror that they ſhould fall upon us, any more than we ſhou'd hope that we might fall upon them; ſince every one as well as all of thoſe globes are ſuſtain'd by infinite Ether, in which this our animal freely runs, and keeps to his preſcrib'd courſe, as the reſt of the planets do to theirs.

DID we but conſider and comprehend all this, oh! to what much further conſiderations and comprehenſions ſhould we be carry'd! as we might be ſure to obtain that happineſs by virtue of this ſcience, which in other ſciences is ſought after in vain. This is that Philoſophy which opens the ſenſes, which ſatisfies the mind, which enlarges the underſtanding, and which leads man to the only true beatitude whereof he's capable according to his natural ſtate and conſtitution; for it frees him from the ſollicitous purſuit of pleaſure, and from the anxious apprehenſions of pain, making him enjoy the good things of the preſent hour, and not to fear more than he hopes from the future; ſince that ſame providence, or fate, or fortune, which cauſes the viciſſitudes of our particular being, will not let us know more of the one, than we are ignorant of the other. At firſt ſight indeed we are apt to be dubious and perplext: but when we more profoundly conſider the eſſence and accidents of that matter into which we are mutable, we'll find that there is no death attending ours or the ſubſtance of any other thing; ſince nothing is ſubſtantially diminiſhed, but only every thing changing form by its perpetual motion in this infinite ſpace. And ſeeing every thing is ſubject to a good and moſt perfect efficient cauſe, we ought neither to believe nor hope otherwiſe, than that as every thing proceeds from what is good, ſo the whole muſt needs be good, in a good ſtate, and to a good purpoſe: the contrary of which appears only to them who conſider no more than is juſt before them, as the beauty of an edifice is not manifeſt to one that has ſeen only ſome ſmall portion of the ſame, as a ſtone, the plaſtering, or part of a wall; but is moſt charming to him that ſaw the whole, and had leiſure to obſerve the ſymmetry of the parts.

WE fear not therefore that what is accumulated in this world, ſhould by the malice of ſome wandring ſpirit, or by the wrath of ſome evil genius, be ſhook and ſcatter'd as it were into ſmoak or duſt, out of this cupolo of the sky, and beyond the ſtarry mantle of the firmament: nor that the nature of things can otherwiſe come to be annihilated in ſubſtance, than as it ſeems to our eyes, that the air contain'd in the concavity of a bubble is become nothing, when that bubble is burſt; becauſe we know that in the world one thing ever ſucceeds another, there being no utmoſt bottom, whence, as by the hand of an artificer, things are irreparably ſtruck into nothing. There are no ends, limits, margins, or walls, that keep back or ſubſtract any parcel of the infinite abundance of things. Thence it is, that the earth and ſea are ever equally fertile, and thence the perpetual brightneſs of the ſun; eternal fuel circulating to thoſe devouring fires, and a ſupply of waters being eternally furniſh'd to the evaporated ſeas, from the infinite and ever renewing magazine of matter: ſo that DEMOCRITUS and EPICURUS, who aſſerted the infinity of things with their perpetual variableneſs and reſtoration, were ſo far more in the right, than he who endeavour'd to account for the eternally ſame appearance of the Univerſe, by making homogeneous particles of matter ever and numerically to ſucceed one another.

LOOK to it now, Gentlemen Aſtrologers, with your humble ſervants the natural Philoſophers; and ſee to what uſe you can put your Circles that are deſcrib'd by the imaginary nine moveable Spheres, in which you ſo impriſon your brains, that you ſeem to me like ſo many parrots in their cages, hopping and dancing from one perch to another, yet always turning and winding within the ſame wires. But be it known unto you that ſo great an Emperor has not ſo narrow a palace, ſo miſerable a throne, ſo low a tribunal, ſo ſcanty a court, ſo little and weak a repreſentative; as that a fancy can bring it forth, a dream overlay it, madneſs repair it, a chimera ſhatter it, a diſaſter leſſen it, another accident encreaſe it, and a thought make it perfect again, being brought together by a blaſt, and made ſolid by a ſhake; 'tis, on the contrary, an immenſe portraiture, an admirable image, an exalted figure, a moſt high veſtige, an infinite repreſentation of an infinite original, and a ſpectacle befitting the excellency and eminence of him that can neither be imagin'd, nor conceiv'd, nor comprehended.

THUS the excellency of GOD is magnify'd, and the grandeur of his Empire made manifeſt; he's not glorify'd in one but in numberleſs Suns, not in one Earth or in one World, but in ten hundred thouſand, in infinite Globes: ſo that this faculty of the intellect is not vain or arbitrary, that ever will and can add ſpace to ſpace, quantity to quantity, unity to unity, number to number. By this ſcience we are looſen'd from the chains of a moſt narrow dungeon, and ſet at liberty to rove in a moſt auguſt empire; we are remov'd from conceited boundaries and poverty, to the innumerable riches of an infinite ſpace, of ſo worthy a field, and of ſuch beautiful worlds: this ſcience does not (in a word) make a horizontal circle feign'd by the eye on earth, and imagin'd by the fancy in the ſpacious sky.

THERE are other worthy and honorable fruits that may be gather'd from theſe trees, other precious and deſireable crops that may be reapt from thoſe ſeeds I have ſown; which we ſhall not at this time ſpecify, leſt we importunately ſollicit the blind envy of our adverſaries: but we leave 'em to be collected by the diſcretion of thoſe who can judge and comprehend, and who of themſelves will be eaſily capable to raiſe on the foundations we have laid the entire ſtructure of our Philoſophy. The particular members of it (if ſo it pleaſes thoſe powers that govern and move us, and if the work we have begun comes not to be interrupted) we ſhall bring to the deſir'd perfection: that what is ſown in the Dialogues of *the Cauſe, Principle, and One*, and ſprung up in theſe of *the infinite Univerſe and numberleſs Worlds*, may branch out, encreaſe, grow mature, be happily reapt, and as much as poſſible give content in other Dialogues; while with the beſt corn that the ſoil we cultivate can produce (after winnowing it from fetches, darnel, weeds, and chaff) we fill the granaries of ſtudious wits.

IN the mean time (tho I be certain he needs no recommendation to you) I ſhall not be wanting to do my part, by effectually recommending one to your LORDSHIP, whom you are not to entertain among your domeſtics as having need of him, but as a perſon having need of you for ſo many and ſo great purpoſes as you here ſee. Conſider, that for having ſuch numbers at hand bound to ſerve you, you are thereby nothing different from farmers, bankers, or merchants; but that for having a man deſerving to be by you encourag'd, protected, and aſſiſted, you are in reality (what you have always ſhown your ſelf to be) like unto magnanimous Princes, Heroes, and Gods, who have ordain'd ſuch as you for the defence of their friends. I put you in mind of what I know is ſuperfluous to do, which is, that you can neither be ſo much eſteem'd by the world, nor ſo acceptable to GOD, for being belov'd and favour'd by the greateſt monarch on earth, as for loving, cheriſhing, and maintaining ſuch as theſe; for there is nothing that your ſuperiours in fortune can do for you, but you may do more for them by ſuperiour virtue, which will laſt longer than the remembrance of their favors in your pictures or tapeſtries: but you can do that for others which may be written in the book of eternity, whether it be the volume which is ſeen on earth, or that other which is believ'd to be in heaven; in as much as whatever you receive from others is a teſtimony of their virtue, but whatever you do for them is an expreſs ſign and indication of your own. Farewell.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS

Mention'd by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truly or falſely aſcrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his APOSTLES, and other eminent perſons.

TO A PERSON OF QUALITY IN HOLLAND.

WHAT you ſay has been told you, SIR, by ſeveral Perſons, is very true; that I have publiſh'd ſomething relating to the CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, which has made no ſmall noiſe here. And, as in all things it is as much my inclination as it is my duty to obey you, ſo I ſhall now, (without further delay) do my ſelf the honour of imparting to you, according to your deſire, both the occaſion and the contents of that writing.

THE celebrated MILTON is no leſs known to you, SIR, than he's to all the curious out of England, by the penetration and ſolidity of his judgment, as well as by the laudable purity (I wiſh I could not ſay, and by the exceſſive ſharpneſs) of his Latin ſtile; expreſt in his *Defence of the People of England* againſt SALMASIUS, alſo in his *Letters of State*, in thoſe to his *familiar Friends*, and in his *Defences for himſelf*. But theſe (if I am allow'd a competent Judge) are mean performances in compariſon of his moſt excellent Epic Poem in our Engliſh tongue, entitul'd, *Paradiſe loſt*: neither do we think ourſelves to be at all partial to our Country, nor yet are we afraid to be thought very ill Critics; when in the plenty and choice of his words, in the propriety and elegance of his expreſſions, in the juſtneſs and ſublimity of his thoughts, in the beauty of his epiſodes, and in the judicious diſpoſition of his whole fable, we eſteem him nothing inferior to HOMER or VIRGIL, to whom we only yield the precedence of Time, and the glory of Invention. MILTON has alſo in Engliſh proſe publiſh'd ſo many valuable Pieces in Politics, Divinity, Hiſtory, and concerning diverſe other ſubjects,

jects, that we ever counted him one of our firſt-rate Authors; and therefore juſtly deſerving to have the *Hiſtory of his Life* tranſmitted to poſterity. This task, Sir, at the deſire of ſeveral worthy perſons, I willingly undertook: as having been no leſs converſant with his works (which kindled in me a love for his memory) than with many of his intimate friends and acquaintance; who, beſides other informations, readily preſented me with what Manuſcripts of his, or any way relating to him, they had in their hands. I can modeſtly affirm, that I gave ſatisfaction to his admirers, without being reputed partial by his enemies, not one of them pretending that I had in any thing miſrepreſented him.

THE Book however was not long abroad before it was attack'd on another ſcore by Mr. Blackhall (then one of King William's Chaplains, and ſince made Biſhop of Exeter by Queen Anne) in a *Sermon* preach'd before the lower houſe of Parliament. For he was offended to the higheſt degree, that I had, in this *Life*, occaſionally ſeconded thoſe, who aſſerted the ſpuriouſneſs of *Icon Baſilike* (1), a Book that paſt every where for the genuine production of King Charles the firſt; and ſo made a very natural obſervation on this forgery in the following words: " When I ſeriouſly conſider how all this hap-

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(1) Εικων βασιλικη.

" pen'd among our ſelves within the compaſs
" of forty years, in a time of great Learning
" and Politeneſs, when both parties ſo nar-
" rowly watch'd over one another's actions,
" and what a great revolution in civil and
" religious affairs was partly occaſion'd by the
" credit of that Book, I ceaſe to wonder any
" longer how ſo many ſuppoſititious Pieces
" under the Name of CHRIST, his Apoſtles,
" and other great Perſons, ſhould be publiſh'd
" and approv'd in thoſe primitive times, when
" it was of ſo much importance to have 'em
" believ'd; when the cheats were too many
" on all ſides for them to reproach one ano-
" ther, which yet they often did; when com-
" merce was not near ſo general as now, and
" the whole earth entirely over-ſpread with
" the darkneſs of ſuperſtition. I doubt rather
" the ſpuriouſneſs of ſeveral more ſuch Books
" is yet undiſcover'd, thro the remoteneſs of
" thoſe ages, the death of the perſons con-
" cern'd, and the decay of their Monuments,
" which might give us true information.

THO' I ſaid, that a great many ſpurious Books were early father'd on CHRIST, his Apoſtles, and other great names, part whereof are ſtill acknowledg'd to be genuin, and the reſt to be forg'd; yet in neither of thoſe aſſertions I could be juſtly ſuppos'd to mean the Books of the New Teſtament. However, Dr. BLACKHALL did, out of the twin-ſpirits of zeal and revenge, poſitively aſſure the

Members of that auguſt Aſſembly (who were more clearſighted and equitable than to receive his accuſation) that I had likewiſe as expreſsly call'd in doubt, the Books now receiv'd for Canonical by the whole Chriſtian Church. *We may ceaſe to wonder,* ſaid he, *that he ſhould have the boldneſs, without proof, and againſt proof, to deny the Authority of that Book,* [the ICON BASILIKE] *who is ſuch an Infidel as to doubt, and is ſhameleſs and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Chriſtian Country, publickly to affront our holy Religion, by declaring his doubt that ſeveral Pieces under the name of Chriſt and his Apoſtles (he muſt mean thoſe now receiv'd by the whole Chriſtian Church, for I know of no other) are ſuppoſititious; tho' thro' the remoteneſs of thoſe ages, the death of the perſons concern'd, and the decay of other Monuments which might give us true Information, the ſpuriouſneſs thereof is yet undiſcover'd.*

Dr. BLACKHALL, you ſee, affirms that I muſt intend the Books *now receiv'd by the whole Chriſtian Church, for he knows of no other:* whereby he betray'd a moſt ſhameful ignorance of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity. By the Books of whoſe *ſpuriouſneſs* I ſaid the world was not yet convinc'd, tho' in my private opinion I cou'd not think them genuine, I meant the ſuppos'd Writings of certain Apoſtolic men (as they call them) which are at this preſent, as well as in antient times, read with extraordinary veneration. And they are the *Epiſtle of* Barnabas, the *Paſtor of* Hermas, the *Epiſtle of* Polycarpus *to the Philippians*, the *firſt Epiſtle of* Clemens *Romanus to the Corinthians*, and the *ſeven Epiſtles of* Ignatius. They are generally receiv'd as Apoſtolical, tho not Canonical, in the Church of Rome, and alſo by moſt Proteſtants.

I did immediately publiſh a Defence of Milton's *Life*, which for that reaſon I entitled *Amyntor*, from a Greek word I need not explain to you. And to convince the world that I did not intend by thoſe Pieces the Books of the New Teſtament, as well as to ſhew the raſhneſs and uncharitableneſs of Dr. Blackhall's aſſertion, I inſerted in it a large Catalogue of Books antiently aſcrib'd to Jesus Christ, his Apoſtles, their Acquaintance, Companions, and Contemporaries. This is the *Catalogue* you deſire to ſee; and I ſend it you very much enlarg'd, and more compleat than any hitherto publiſh'd.

BUT ſuch as it was in *Amyntor*, it met with a favourable reception among the learned abroad, and particularly with the no leſs learned than laborious Profeſſor (2) Fabricius of Hamburg, who ſome years after publiſh'd himſelf a *Codex Apocryphus Novi Teſtamenti*.

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(2) *Bibliotheca Græca, Lib.* iv. *cap.* 5. §. 15.

And the moſt candid PFAFFIUS, Profeſſor at Turinge, after mentioning Monſieur DAILLÉ, Father SIMON, Dr. ITTIGIUS, and Dr. GRABE, who wrote before me; with Dr. MILL, and Dr. FABRICIUS, who have written after me, calls it *a* (3) *remarkable Catalogue.*

AND now, Sir, I have acquainted you with the reaſons which induc'd me to write my *Amyntor*, I ſhall by way of Concluſion, add a ſhort but ſufficient account of the Writings that it gave occaſion to be publiſh'd. My principal Antagoniſts were four Divines: namely, the ſelf-ſame Dr. BLACKHALL, Mr. CLARKE, ſince a Doctor of Divinity, Mr. NYE Rector of Little Hormead in Hartfordſhire, and Mr. RICHARDSON, a Nonjuror, ſince that time deceas'd. For my not replying to them hitherto, nor to ſome others that have drawn their pens againſt me on the ſame ſcore, has been equally free from the ſpirit of conceited arrogance or conſcious timoroufneſs. There are Books, it's true, whoſe Authors underſtand ſo little of the ſubject in debate, and who rail ſo unmeaſurably againſt thoſe they cannot confute (among which I am far from reckoning the laſt three of the four I have juſt nam'd) that without being over proud, they deſerve no attention, much leſs a reply. Nor, generally ſpeaking, do ſuch Books meet with any readers, but thoſe whoſe judgment no body values. On the other hand, when a man is attack'd by ſeveral conſiderable Perſons one after another, I think not only in good manners he ought to give 'em the hearing without any interruption, till they have once done; but likewiſe to ſit ſtill in point of prudence, that he may not be oblig'd to eternal repetitions, or to write againſt every one of them ſeparately, to the great fatigue both of the Readers and himſelf. Moreover it frequently happens, that many Anſwerers confound themſelves by their mutual contradictions; the one commending and approving, what the other blames and condemns in an Author, which has been more than once my very caſe: beſides that the laſt Anſwerer ſeems to acknowledge in ſome ſort, as if the reſt had not ſucceeded in their efforts, ſince if they had, it muſt needs have been ſuperfluous for him to write after them. I ſhall not forget, on this occaſion, what thoſe two bright ornaments of all uſeful and polite Learning Monſieur BASNAGE and Monſieur LE CLERC have reply'd, the one to Mr. RICHARDSON, the other to Mr. DODWELL, upon the account of the famous paſſage I quoted in *Amyntor* from this laſt Gentleman; tho' without any reflection from either of thoſe illuſtrious Foreners, againſt my Book or my Perſon. But the *Jeſuits* of Trevoux have taken care not to be guilty of ſuch an untheological fault, which proceeding therefore juſtly entitles them to a greater ſhare in my remembrance.

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(3) Quod vero eos attinet, qui vel planè ſuppoſititium cenſent eſſe Novum Teſtamentum, aut ſaltem maximam illius partem, quod veteres Haeretici magno numero arbitrati ſunt, nova Evangelia, Acta, Literas, Apocalypſes, alioſque libellos orbi Chriſtiano obtrudentes, quorum (praeter ſummos viros Jo. Alb. Fabricium in Codice Apocrypho Novi Teſtamenti, Jo. Erneſt. Grabium in Spicilegio Patrum, itemque Jo. Millium in Prolegomen. ad Novum Teſt. part. 2. & quos primùm nominare debebam, Jo. Dallaeum, Ric. Simonium, Tho. Ittigium alioſque) inſignem dedit Catalogum Jo. Tolandus in Amyntore. Part 1. pag. 20—38. *In Diſſert. Crit. Librorum Novi Teſtamenti Lectione rite inveſtiganda. Cap.* 1. §. 2.

I am with the profoundeſt reſpect and veneration,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful
and obedient Servant,

A CATALOGUE *of Books mention'd by the Fathers and other ancient Writers, as truely or falſely aſcrib'd to* JESUS CHRIST, *his* APOSTLES, *and other eminent Perſons; or of ſuch Books as do immediately concern the ſame: ſome of which Pieces are ſtill extant entire, moſt of which ſhall be markt in their places; tho the Fragments only of the greateſt part remain, and but the bare Titles of others.*

CHAPTER I.

Books reported to be written by JESUS *himſelf, or that particularly concern him.*

1. T*HE Letter of* JESUS *in anſwer to that of* ABGARUS King of Edeſſa. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 1. *c.* 13. NICEPHORUS ſays he wrote it with his own hand. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 2. *c.* 7. You may alſo conſult PROCOPIUS, CEDRENUS, CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENNETUS *in Manipulo* COMBEFISII, *pag.* 79, &c. Extant.

2. THE *Epiſtle of* JESUS *to* PETER *and* PAUL. *Auguſtin. contra Fauſt. l.* 28. *c.* 13. *Idem de Conſenſu Evangeliſt. l.* 1. *c.* 9. But the forger of this piece forgot, that PAUL was neither a Chriſtian, nor an Apoſtle, till after the death of CHRIST.

3. THE *Parables and Sermons of* CHRIST. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 39.

4. A HYMN which CHRIST ſecretly taught his Diſciples and Apoſtles. *Auguſtin. Epiſt. ad Ceretium Epiſcopum. Edit. Benedictin.* 237.

5. A BOOK *of the Magic of* CHRIST, or the Art whereby he wrought his Miracles: if it be not the ſame with the Epiſtle to PETER and PAUL? *Auguſtin. de Conſenſu Evangeliſt. l.* 1. *c.* 9, 10.

6. A BOOK *of the Nativity of* JESUS, of the holy Virgin his Mother, and her Midwife. *Gelaſius in Decreto, apud Gratian. part.* 1. *diſtinct.* 15. *can.* 3. But I believe this to be the ſame with *the Goſpel of* JAMES, whereof in its due order.

7. THERE was in the ſixth Century a *Letter* handed about, and read from their Pulpits by ſome Biſhops, as written by CHRIST, and dropt down from Heaven. *Aguirr. tom.* 2. *collect.*

collect. max. Concilior. Hiſpan. pag. 428. 'Tis extant, and ſerv'd for a model to thoſe other barbarous *Epiſtles* of the ſame nature that were feign'd in later times, but with which therefore we have nothing to do.

8. A GREAT many *Sayings* attributed to CHRIST, but not recorded in the *New Teſtament*, are to be read in the *Fathers*, in ſome various readings of the *Goſpels*, and particularly in the *Alcoran* (with other Mahometan Authors) who had them out of *the Goſpel of* BARNABAS, and ſuch-like pieces ſpecify'd in this Catalogue.

CHAPTER II.

MARY.

1. AN *Epiſtle to* IGNATIUS, which is now extant among his Works. It is evident from BERNARD of Clairval and others, that there were formerly more than one ſuch *Epiſtle*. We have likewiſe IGNATIUS's Anſwer.

2. ANOTHER *Epiſtle* to the inhabitants of Meſſina in Sicily, in the penning of which the Evangeliſt LUKE was the Virgin's ſecretary. MELCHIOR INCHOFER, a Jeſuite, wrote a whole folio to prove this Letter (which is now extant) to be authentic: but when GABRIEL NAUDÉ alledg'd ſe-

veral reaſons to him in diſcourſe, to ſhow it was ſpurious; INCHOFER anſwer'd, that he knew all this as well as himſelf, and that he believ'd nothing of the matter, but that he publiſh'd the Book in obedience to his ſuperiors: he might have added, and for an ample reward from the Magiſtrates of Meſſina. *Thus*, ſays the moſt judicious NAUDÉ in the *Naudeana, are Errors and Deceits ſpread in the world*; *and thus are ſimple Souls miſled at all times.* By the way, the Cathedral of Meſſina is hence call'd *Madonna della Lettera:* and ſuch another Letter was forg'd by the Florentines, to rival the Sicilians; or at leaſt, that their City and Prieſts might profit as much by this fraud as did the others.

3. A BOOK *of the Nativity of the Virgin* MARY is ſtill extant, and uſually publiſh'd with JEROM's works, as if it had been tranſlated by him out of Hebrew. It is in ſome Copies (for they are very different) attributed to MATTHEW, and is quoted by GREGORY NYSSEN, AUGUSTINE, and other *Fathers*.

4. I FANCY this laſt Book may be the ſame with *the Hiſtory and Traditions of* MARY, mention'd by EPIPHANIUS, *Haereſ.* 29. *n.* 5. Alſo a certain SELEUCUS (or rather LEUCIUS) the moſt prodigious Book-forger that ever was, made a *Nativity of* MARY,

which may be this very work, tho not entirely as we now have it.

5. A BOOK about the Death of the Virgin MARY, is ſaid by LAMBECIUS to lie unpubliſh'd in the Emperor's Library. *Bibliothec. Vindobon. tom.* 4. *pag.* 131. Such a Manuſcript is to be found in ſome other Libraries.

6. WE ſhall not inſiſt on the Book of MARY, concerning the Miracles of CHRIST, and the Ring of King SOLOMON. The very Title is more than ſufficient.

7. THE *Book of the Virgin* MARY *and her Midwife*, rejected in the *Decree of* GELASIUS, is no doubt the ſame with the *Proto-evangelion* of JAMES: a moſt ridiculous Romance, of which more hereafter.

8. THE *greater and leſſer Queſtions of* MARY. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 26. *n.* 8.

9. THE *Book of the Progeny of* MARY, if it be not rather the ſame with her *Hiſtory and Traditions* above-mention'd? *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 26. *n.* 12.

❧

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

PETER.

1. THE *Goſpel of* PETER. *Origen. tom.* 11. *Comment. in Matt. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 3, 25. *Idem, l.* 6. *c.* 12. *Hieronym. in Catalogo Script. Eccleſ. c.* 1. *Theodorit. Haeretic. fabul. l.* 2. *c.* 2, *&c.* 'Tis likewiſe mention'd in ſome Copies of the GELASIAN *Decree:* and was perhaps the *Goſpel of the Nazarens,* of which hereafter.

2. THE *Acts of* PETER. *Origen. tom.* 21. *Comment. in Joan. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.* 7. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 3. *Hieronym. in Catal. Iſidor. Peluſiot. l.* 2. *Epiſt.* 99. *Philaſtr. in Haereſ.* 87. *& Gelaſ. in Decreto.*

3. THE *Revelation of* PETER, which (according to ZOZOMEN, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 7. *c.*19.) was read once a year in ſome Churches of Paleſtine, the People devoutly faſting all that day. *Clem. Alex. non ſemel, & in Epitom. Theodot. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 3, 25. *etiam l.* 6. *c.* 14. *Hieronym. in Catal. c.* 1. *Nicephor. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 12. *c.* 34. *& in Stichometriis.*

4. THE *Revelation of* PETER, whereof JACOBUS *a Vitriaco* ſpeaks in his Epiſtle to Pope HONORIUS the third, was a different and more novel forgery.

5. THE *Epiſtle of* PETER *to* CLEMENS, is ſtill ſhown in the Ethiopic language by the Eaſtern Chriſtians. *Tillemont. Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom.* 1. *part.* 2. *pag.* 497.

6. THE *Epiſtle of* CLEMENS *to* JAMES being publiſh'd at the head of the *Clementine Recognitions*, COTELERIUS has inſerted another *Epiſtle of* PETER to JAMES, *in tom.* 1. *Patr. Apoſtolic. pag.* 602.

7. SOME think PETER alludes to ſome *Epiſtle* of his, now loſt, in the 12th verſe of the 5th chapter of his *firſt Epiſtle.* But the *Epiſtle*, which Pope STEPHEN the third ſent in PETER's name to King PEPIN and his two ſons, is nothing to our purpoſe, being ſo modern an Impoſture.

8. THE *Doctrine of* PETER, if this be not ſome part of the *Recognitions? Origen. in Praefat. ad libros Principiorum. Gregor. Nazianz. Epiſt.* 16. *Elias Levita in Notis ad Nazianzeni Orationem ad Cives trepidantes.*

9. THE *Preaching of* PETER. *Origen. tom.* 14. *in Joan. Idem in Praefat. ad libros Principior. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.* 1, 2, 6. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.*3. *c.* 3,25. *Lactant. l.* 4. *c.* 21. *Autor libri de Baptiſmo inter opera Cypri-*

Cypriani. Hieronym. in Catal. Joan. Damaſcen. Parallel. l. 2. *c.* 16.

10. THE *Liturgy of* PETER, publiſh'd by LINDANUS at Antwerp, in the year 1588, and at Paris in the year 1595. There is *a Liturgy* likewiſe attributed to MARY, and one to CHRIST himſelf, tho we have not thought fit to inſert them under their reſpective heads.

11. THE *Itinerary or Journeys of* PETER (mention'd by EPIPHANIUS, *Haereſ.* 30. *n.* 15. and by ATHANASIUS, *in Synopſi Scripturar.*) I believe to be the ſame with the *Recognitions of* CLEMENT ſtill extant, and conſiſting of ten books, where the pretended CLEMENS gives a very particular account of PETER's voyages and performances. Theſe *Periods*, or Tours, are recorded by ORIGEN, *Philocal. c.* 23. by JEROM, *contra Jovinian. l.* 1. and are rejected in the *Decree* of GELASIUS.

12. THE *Precepts of* PETER *and* PAUL come under another head.

13. THE *Judgment of* PETER. *Hieronym. in Catal. Item Ruffinus in expoſitione Symboli.* I wiſh we had it, for the title is pretty particular.

14. THE *Diſputation of* PETER *and* APION. *Hieronym. in Catal. & ante eum Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 38. *Phot. in Bibliothec. cod.* 113. *Honor. Auguſtodun. de Script. Eccleſiaſt.*

CHAPTER IV.

ANDREW.

1. THE *Goſpel of* ANDREW. *Gelaſ. in Decreto, &c.* Apocryphal pieces of ANDREW are mention'd by AUGUSTINE, *contra Adverſar. Legis & Prophet. l.* 1. *c.* 20. and by Pope INNOCENT the firſt, *in Epiſt.* 3. *ad Exuperium.*

2. THE *Acts of* ANDREW. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 42. *n.* 1. *Item Haereſ.* 61. *n.* 1. *&* 63. *n.* 2. *Auguſtin. contra Adverſar. Leg. & Prophet. l.* 1. *c.* 20. *Philaſtr. Haereſ.* 87. *Gelaſ. in Decreto, & Turibius Aſturicenſis apud Paſchaſium Queſnellum inter Epiſtolas Leonis magni, pag.* 459.

CHAPTER V.

JAMES.

1. THE *Goſpel of* JAMES or his *Protoevangelion. Origen. in tom.* 11. *Comment. in Mat. Epiphan. Haereſ.* 30. *n.*

23. *Euſtath. Antiochen. Comment. in Hexaemer. Innocent.* I. *Epiſt.* 3. *Epiphanius Monachus in Notis Allatii ad Euſtath.* ALLATIUS ſays, that GREGORY *Nyſſen* has borrow'd a great many things out of this *Goſpel*, without mentioning the name of JAMES. This book is now in Manuſcript in the Imperial Library, as LAMBECIUS affirms, *Bibliothec. Vindobon. l.* 5. *pag.* 130, 131. NESSEL, his continuator, ſays that there are no fewer than five copies of it there. Father SIMON tells us, that he has ſeen two Greek Manuſcript Copies of it in the French King's Library; *Nouvelles Obſervations, pag.* 4. It was printed by NEANDER; and alſo in the firſt volum of the *Orthodoxographs*, by GRYNEUS, who values it highly, as likewiſe does BIBLIANDER, both Proteſtants. But POSTELLUS, a Roman Catholic, who brought a Copy of it from the Eaſt, and firſt publiſh'd it with his own Tranſlation, moſt extravagantly fancys it to be the baſis and foundation of the whole Evangelical Hiſtory, and the head or firſt part of MARK's *Goſpel.* 'Tis for theſe reaſons that I have been ſo particular about this book, which is ſometimes aſcrib'd to PETER: *Vide Hinkelmanni Praefat. ad Alcoranum.*

2. THE *Liturgy of* JAMES is printed in the ſecond tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at Paris, in the year 1624.

3. WE mention'd before the book of JAMES concerning the death of the Virgin MARY: but there wanted not who believ'd JOHN, and not JAMES, to have been the Author of it.

CHAPTER VI.

JOHN.

1. THE *Acts of* JOHN. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Haereſ.* 42. *n.* 1. *Auguſtin. contra Adverſar. Leg. & Prophet. l.* 1. *c.* 20. *Philaſtr. Haereſ.* 87. *Turibii Scriptum inter Epiſtolas Leonis Magni apud Paſchaſium Queſnellum, pag.* 459. *Phot. Bibliothec. in cod.* 229.

2. ANOTHER *Goſpel of* JOHN, different from that in our Canon. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 30. *n.* 23.

3. THE *Itinerary,* or Voyages of JOHN. *Athanaſ. in Append. ad Synopſ. Scripturar. Gelaſius in Decreto.*

4. THE *Liturgy of* JOHN, was, together with ſeveral others, printed in Syriac at Rome. See Father SIMON in his *Supplement to* LEO *of Modena.*

5. WE ſpoke before of JOHN's book about the death of the Virgin MARY.

6. THERE is annext to this piece, in the 453d Manuſcript of the *Colbertine Library*, another book attributed to the ſame JOHN, and entitul'd, *the Memorial of* JESUS CHRIST, *and his deſcent from the Croſs*: if it be not the ſame with a book we ſhall mention *cap.* 17. *art.* 19.

7. THE *Traditions of* JOHN. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c. ult.*

8. THE *Epiſtle of* JOHN *to the Hydropic*, is extant in PROCHORUS, who has likewiſe written his life. *Bibliothec. Patr. tom.* 2. *pag.* 61. *Edit. Lugd.* There is beſides a *Life of* JOHN in the Armenian tongue, printed in the Armenian *Lectionary*.

9. A *Revelation of* JOHN, different from that in our preſent Canon, lies among the Manuſcripts of the Imperial Library at Vienna, *number* 121: and 'tis mentioned by THEODOSIUS *Alexandrinus* in his Manuſcript Commentary on *Dionyſius of Thrace. Cod. Baroc.* 57.

10. THE ſillyeſt Impoſture of all, is the *Revelation* pretended to be found in a mountain near Granada, in the year 1595; tranſlated into modern Spaniſh (forſooth) and illuſtrated with a Commentary, by CECILIUS the Diſciple of JAMES the elder, many hun-

dred years before the Spaniſh language had a being. See Dr. GEDDES's *Tracts, vol.* 1.

CHAPTER VII.

BARTHOLOMEW.

1. THE *Goſpel of* BARTHOLOMEW. *Hieronym. in Prolegomen. ad Comment. in Mat. Dionyſius Areopag. de Myſtica Theologia, c.* 1. *Gelaſius in Decreto. Videantur etiam de Bartholomaeo Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 5. *c.* 10. *& Bedam ab initio Commentar. in Luc.*

CHAPTER VIII.

PHILIP.

1. THE *Goſpel of* PHILIP. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 26. *n.* 13. *Timotheus Presbyter, a Combefiſio edit. in tom.* 2. *Auctuar. Leontius de ſectis, lectione tertia, pag.* 432.

2. THE *Acts of* PHILIP. *Gelaſius in Decreto: Item Anaſtaſius Sinaita de tribus Quadrageſimis, qui ea vocat tres periodos. Editus eſt Anaſtaſius a Cotelerio, tom.* 3. *Monument. Eccleſ. Graec. pag.* 428.

CHAPTER IX.

THOMAS.

1. THE *Goſpel of* THOMAS. *Iren. adverſus Haereſ. l.* 1. *c.*17. *Origen. in homil.* 1. *ad Luc. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *Hieronym. in Praefat. ad Mat. Athanaſ. in Append. ad Synopſ. Scriptur. Auguſtin. contra Fauſt. l.* 22. *c.* 79. *Cyril. Hieroſolym. Catech.* 4, 6. *Nicephor. in Stichometria. Gelaſ. in Decreto. Beda, ac alii multi.*

2. THE *Acts of* THOMAS. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 42. *n.* 1. *Idem, Haereſ.* 61. *n.* 1. *Auguſtin. contra Adimant. Idem, l.* 1. *de ſermone Dei: ac contra Fauſt. l.* 22. *c.* 79. *Turib. Aſturicenſ. Epiſt. toties citat. Sic Athanaſius etiam ac Photius.*

3. THE *Revelations of* THOMAS. *Gelaſius in Decreto.*

4. THE *Itinerary of* THOMAS. *Athanaſ. in Append. ad Synopſ. S. Scripturar. Gelaſ. in Decreto. Nicephorus in Stichometria.* This book is extant entire in the French King's Library, num°. 1832 *and* 2394: as likewiſe in the Bodleian Library, *Cod. Baroc.* 180.

5. THE *book of the Infancy of* CHRIST, *pretended to have been written by* THOMAS

the Apoſtle, is not the ſame with the *Goſpel* attributed to THOMAS, one of MANES's diſciples. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 34. *n.* 18. *& Haereſ.* 51. *n.* 20. *Gelaſ. in Decreto. Nicephor. in Stichometria.* LAMBECIUS ſays, that there is a Manuſcript of this book in the Imperial Library. *Bibliothec. Vindobon. tom.* 7. *pag.* 20. Father SIMON (in his *Nouvelles Obſervations*) writes that there is a Greec Manuſcript copy or two of it in the French King's Library. It was printed ſome years ſince in Latin and Arabic, with learned Notes by Mr. SYKE at Utrecht: and, after his coming to England, I lent him a Latin verſion of it on Parchment, which is very old; and which, had it timely come to his hands, might have ſav'd him a great part of his labor. But what's become of it, ſince his unfortunate death, I know not; neither have I claim'd it, as having nothing to ſhow my title. Several others have written of the Infancy of CHRIST.

CHAPTER X.

MATTHEW.

1. THE foregoing book *of the Infancy of* CHRIST, has been aſcrib'd to MATTHEW; as I have remark'd in another place.

2. THE *Liturgy of* MATTHEW. *Tom.* 27. *Bibliothec. Patr. Lugdun. Natal. Alex. in*

ſeculo primo, Part. 1. *c.* 11. *art.* 1. *Gerard. Confeſſ. Cathol. tom.* 1. *& alii multi.*

CHAPTER XI.

MARK.

1. THE *Liturgy of* MARK. *Joannes Bona de rebus Liturgicis, aliique non pauci.*

2. BARONIUS is of opinion that MARK wrote *the Goſpel of the Aegyptians* (*ad annum Chriſti* 44, *num.* 48.) of which *Goſpel* hereafter.

3. POSTELLUS (as we ſaw before) believ'd the *Protoevangelion*, attributed to JAMES, to have been the beginning of MARK'S *Goſpel.*

4. THERE'S an anonymous hiſtorian of the Evangeliſt MARK, and JOHN MARK *of the paſſion of* BARNABAS, of which in due place.

CHAPTER XII.

THADDEUS.

1. THE *Goſpel of* THADDEUS. *Gelaſius in quibuſdam Decreti exemplaribus.* He's call'd by EUSEBIUS, who makes him one

of the ſeventy Diſciples, *an Evangeliſt of the Doctrine of* CHRIST. *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 1.*c.*13.

CHAPTER XIII.

MATTHIAS.

1. THE *Goſpel of* MATTHIAS. *Origen. homil.* 1. *in Luc. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *Hieronym. in Prolegomen. ad Commentar. in Mat. Ambroſ. in Commentar. ad Luc. Gelaſ. in Decreto. Beda, initio Commentar. in Luc.*

2. THE *Traditions of* MATTHIAS. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.* 2, 3, 7. *Item, Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 29. *Nicephor. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 15.

3. THE *Acts of* MATTHIAS, are to be read in BOLLANDUS, among the Saints of the 24th of January.

CHAPTER XIV.

PAUL.

1. THE *Acts of* PAUL. *Origen. de Princip. l.* 1. *c.* 2. *Idem, tom.* 1. *in Joan. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 3, 29: *ac in Stichometria a Cotelerio edita.* PHILASTRIUS ſays, that in theſe, and ſuch other *Acts,* beſides many prodigies and miracles, dogs and

other beaſts were made to ſpeak, and to have ſouls of the ſame nature with thoſe of men. *Haereſ.* 87.

2. THE *Acts of* PAUL *and* THECLA. *Tertul. de Bapt. c.* 17. *Hieronym. de ſcript. Eccleſ. in Paulo & Luca. Auguſtin. contra Fauſt. l.* 30. *c.* 4. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 78. *n.* 16. *Gelaſ. in Decreto. Recentiores alii.* 'Tis extant, printed in the ſecond volume of Dr. GRABE's *Spicilegium.* I wonder much, how certain learned men cou'd be impos'd upon by this ridiculouſly fabulous Treatiſe; where a handſome young woman runs away from her Bridegroom (juſt ready to marry her) all over the world after PAUL, whoſe fellow-Apoſtle ſhe becomes: and ſo ſhe's actually call'd; all which circumſtances gave no ſmall ſcandal to many, as it is related in the book it ſelf, which is ſtuft from one end to the other with monſtrous incoherencies and abſurdities.

3. THE *Epiſtle of* PAUL *to the Laodiceans. Coloſſ.* 4. 12. *Tertul. adverſus Marcion. l.* 5. *c.* 11, 17. *Hieronym. in Catal. c.* 5. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 42. *n.* 9: *& alibi. Philaſtr. Haereſ.* 88. *Theodoret. Commentar. ad Coloſſ.* 4. 12. *tom.* 3. *Legantur etiam Theophylactus, Gregorius Magnus, & Concil. Nicen. II. act.* 6. *part.* 5.

4. A THIRD *Epiſtle of Paul to the Theſſalonians,* was forg'd in his own life time, as ſome deduce from 2 *Theſ.* 2. 2.

5. SOME imagine that PAUL wrote a former *Epiſtle to the Epheſians*, from the third verſe of the third chapter of his extant *Epiſtle*.

6. THERE wanted not, who, from an expreſſion in POLYCARP, wou'd needs infer, that the Apoſtle of the Gentiles had written more than one *Epiſtle to the Philippians*.

7. A THIRD *Epiſtle of Paul to the Corinthians*, ſeems to be well grounded upon 1 *Cor*. 5. 9: & 2 *Cor*. 13. 1.

8. ARCHBISHOP USHER, and Dr. JOHN GREGORY, have ſeen an Armenian Manuſcript of Sir GILBERT NORTH's, where there was an *Epiſtle of the Corinthians to* PAUL, with PAUL's *anſwer* to the ſame: and both theſe *Epiſtles* are lately publiſh'd at Amſterdam, in the Armenian and Latin tongues, by Mr. DAVID WILKINS, now Doctor of Divinity, and Library-keeper at Lambeth.

9. KIRSTENIUS ſays, that ſeveral *Epiſtles of* PAUL, to us unknown, are extant in the Arabic language. *Praefat. ad Gram. Arab.*

10. THE *Epiſtles of* PAUL *to* SENECA, with thoſe *of* SENECA *to* PAUL. Theſe have been ſo far approv'd, that JEROME, on this account, places SENECA among the Chriſtian

writers, if not Saints: and they are defended as genuine by FABER *d'Eſtaples*, SIXTUS SENENSIS, ALPHONSUS SALMERON, and others. The ancient authorities for them are, *Hieronym. in Catal. c.* 12. *Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, l.* 6. *c.* 10. *Idem, in Epiſt.* 153. *Edit. Benedictin. ſcilicet ad Macedonium. Joan. Sarisberienſ. in Polycrat. l.* 8. *c.* 13. If I may reckon this laſt among the ancients? The *Epiſtles* however are ſtill extant.

11. THE *Revelation of* PAUL. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 38. *n.* 2. *Auguſtin. tract.* 98. *in Joan. Theophylact. in Schol. ad* 2 *Cor.* 12. 4. *Oecumen. ad eundem locum. Zozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 7. *c.* 19. *Nicephor. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 12. *c.* 34. *Gelaſ. in Decreto.*

12. THERE is a *Revelation of* PAUL in Merton College Library at Oxford, *cod.* 13. *n.* 2. 1. *Art. fol.* 776. But this *Revelation* is not the ſame with the former, which ZOZOMEN (in the place cited out of him) ſays was highly eſteem'd by the Monks.

13. THE *Viſions of* PAUL. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 40. *n.* 7. This book was different from the *Revelation* mention'd Num. 11. but I believe it is the ſame that MARCUS Patriarch of Alexandria, in his ſecond Queſtion to BALSAMON, calls *the Viſions of St.* PAUL. *Bonfid. Jur. Oriental. pag.* 240. *Marquard. Freher, in Jure Graeco-Romano, tom.* 1. *pag.* 363.

14.

14. THIS laſt book may be likewiſe the ſame that's recorded by theſe authors from NICEPHORUS *Homologeta*, who joins it with I know not what *Brontologies*, *Selenodromies*, and *Calendologies*, much like our worſt ſort of Almanacks: where not onely the days of the month and the age of the moon are mark'd; but alſo thunder, rain, and other changes of the weather prognoſticated. But why ſuch obſervations, as the ſettings and riſings of the ſtars, or the diviſions of the months, ſo uſeful to husbandmen, ſeamen, and almoſt all others, ſhould be condemned; I can aſſign no other reaſon, but that ſpirit of Superſtition, which proceeded ſo far to aboliſh all theatrical repreſentations, all muſical performances, all joyful anniverſary feſtivals (however regulated and innocent) and all other liberal entertainments, not practis'd by mechanics or beggars.

15. THE *Preaching of* PAUL. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.* 6. *Lactant. l* 4. *c.* 21. 'Tis likewiſe quoted by the anonymous author *de non iterando Baptiſmo*, inſerted by RIGALTIUS in his obſervations upon Saint CYPRIAN.

16. SAINT PAUL's *narrative concerning the charming of Vipers*, reveal'd to him by St. MICHAEL in a dream. LAMBECIUS ſays, that there is a Manuſcript of this book in

the Imperial Library. *Biblioth. Vindobon. tom.* 5. *pag.* 103.

17. THE *Anabaticon of* PAUL, wherein he relates what he ſaw, when he was caught up to the third Heavens: tho' in 2 *Cor.* 12. 4. he calls them unſpeakable words, and things unlawful or impoſſible to utter. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 18. *n.* 38. *Michael Glycas, Annal. part.* 2. *pag.* 120.

18. SOME wou'd infer from his own words, that PAUL wrote a *Goſpel. In the day*, ſays he, *when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men by Chriſt Jeſus, according to my Goſpel.* *Rom.* 2. 16. compar'd with *Gal.* 1. 8, 2; and 2 *Tim.* 9.

19. THE *Precepts of* PETER *and* PAUL I ſhall mention lower, under the head of *General Pieces*: that is, ſuch as go under the names of all, or more than one of the Apoſtles; or ſuch as are directed in general, without the name of any author at all.

CHAPTER XV.

BARNABAS.

1. THE *Goſpel of* BARNABAS. *Gelaſius in Decreto. Indiculus Scripturar. apud Coteler. in Annotat.* 1. *ad Conſtitut. Apoſtolic. In Catal. libror. Apocryph. Baroccian. poſt*

poſt Damaſcenum de menſibus Macedonum. This Goſpel of BARNABAS is ſtill Extant, but interpolated by the Mahometans. There's but one copy of it in Chriſtendom, accidentally diſcover'd by me at Amſterdam in the year 1709, and now in the Library of his moſt ſerene Highneſs Prince EUGENE *of Savoy*. But a full account of it is to be had in a volume I have written on this very ſubject, entitul'd, NAZARENUS, or *Jewiſh, Gentile, and Mahometan Chriſtianity*, &c. printed twice at London, in the year 1718.

2. THE *Epiſtle of* BARNABAS. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.* 2, 5. *Origen. contra Celſ. l.* 1. *& de Princip. l.* 3. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 5. *Hieronym. in Catalogo, aliique.* But this is not the *Epiſtle* we have at this day, as theſe very citations demonſtrate.

3. THE *Paſſion of* BARNABAS by JOHN MARK, is mention'd in *cap.* 21.

CHAPTER XVI.

JUDAS, EVE, SETH, ABRAHAM, ENOCH, &c.

1. THAT none of the Apoſtles might be thought unable to write a *Goſpel,* we find one alledg'd by the Caianites (a ſect of the Gnoſtics) under the name of JUDAS *Iſcariot*;

riot; whom they highly extoll'd for his knowledge of the Truth above the reſt of the Apoſtles, and that therefore he purpoſely betray'd CHRIST, to perfect the Myſtery of our Redemtion. *Iren. contra Haereſ. l.* 1. *c.* 35. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 38. *n.* 1, 2. *Theodoret. Haeret. Fab. l.* 1. *c.* 15.

2. NOR ſhou'd we wonder at JUDAS's being an Author, when we read of the prophetical *Goſpel of* EVE, whom the Gnoſtics reckon'd a patroneſs of their opinions; and to have receiv'd extraordinary light and knowlege, in her conference with the Serpent. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 26. *n.* 2, 3, 4, 5. God, in that *Goſpel*, ſaid to her in a voice like Thunder, *I am thou, and thou art I*; *wherever thou art, there am I, being diffus'd among all things: and, whence ſoever you will, you gather me*; *but in gathering me, you gather yourſelf.* EVE, as we may ſee, was a great Spinoſiſt.

3. THE Sethians, another ſort of Gnoſtics (for the branches of this trunk were numberleſs) beſides many writings attributed by them to SETH himſelf, whom they wou'd needs have to be CHRIST, did alſo ſhow an *Apocalypſe* under the name of the Patriarch ABRAHAM: not to mention his learned pieces of Aſtrology, nor thoſe they father'd upon others, nor yet the books of ADAM formerly believed by the Jews. *Epiphan. Haereſ.*

Haereſ. 26. *n.* 8. *Item Haereſ.* 30. *n.* 16. *ac Haereſ.* 39. *n.* 15. *Iſidor. Peluſiot. l.* 2. *Epiſt.* 99.

4. THE *Prophecy of* ENOCH, which relates the Amours of the Sons of God with the Daughters of Men (or of ever-ſprightly Angels and beautiful young Damſels) is a great part of it ſtill extant; and was believ'd genuine by ſeveral of the *Fathers*, who alledge it in defence of the Chriſtian Religion: as *Origen. contra Celſ. l.* 5. *Idem de Princip. Tertul. de habitu muliebri, c.* 3, *&c.*

5. THE *Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs*, the *Aſſumtion of* MOSES, the *Teſtament* of the ſame, the *Prophecy of* LAMECH, the *Prayer of* JOSEPH, the *Book of* ELDAD *and* MEDAD, the *Pſalms of King* SOLOMON, the *Anabaticon or Viſion of* ISAIAH, the *Revelation of* ELIAS, the *Revelation of* ZEPHANY, the *Revelation of* ZACHARY, the *Revelation of* EZRA, and ſuch others, of which an account may be ſeen in the *Codex Apocryphus veteris Teſtamenti* of FABRICIUS. But I forget that I am in this CATALOGUE reciting the ſpurious books of the Chriſtians, and not of the Jews, who were very near as fertil and expert in forgeries. Nor ought we to be careleſs in diſtinguiſhing thoſe Books, that were falſely father'd upon the Jews by the Chriſtians, the better to bring them over (of which pious frauds the *Anabaticon of* ISAIAH,

with the *Teſtament of the twelve Patriarchs*, are manifeſt examples) from the Apocryphal books of the Jews themſelves, ſome of which are very ancient.

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL PIECES.

1. THE *Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles. Origen. homil.* 1. *in Luc. Hieronym. in Praefat. ad Mat. Item, contra Pelagian. l.* 3. *Ambroſ. Prooem. Comment. in Luc. Theophylact. Comment. in Luc. c.* 1. *ver.* 1. *Beda initio Comment. in Luc.* But this book is only general in the Title, and was, I believe, originally the ſame with

2. THE *Goſpel of the Hebrews. Ignat. in Epiſt. ad Smyrnaeos, c.* 3. *Papias apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 39. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.* 1, 2, 5. *Origen. tract.* 8. *in Mat. Idem, homil.* 15. *in Jerem. & in Comment. ad Joan. tom.* 2. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *c.* 27. *& alibi. Epiphan. Haereſ.* 30. *paſſim. Hieronym. in Catalogo & aliàs ſaepiſſimè. Tit. Boſtrenſ. Comment. in Luc.* This *Goſpel* ſeveral have maintained (tho erroneouſly) to be the Original of MATTHEW; as it is expreſſly the opinion of IRENEUS, *adverſus Haereſ. l.* 3. *c.* 11. and of EPIPHANIUS, *Haereſ.* 29. *n. ult.*

3. I am perſuaded it was the ſame which was commonly call'd *the Goſpel of the Nazarens* or Ebionites, who were the Jewiſh or very firſt Chriſtians; and therefore Dr. MILL, Dr. GRABE, and others, have declar'd their opinion, that it might be one of thoſe mention'd by LUKE, and ſo written before our preſent *Goſpels* by the eye and ear-witneſſes of CHRIST.

4. THIS book was alſo call'd *the Goſpel of the Syrians. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 4. *c.* 22. *Hieronym. in Catal. & adverſus Pelagian. l.* 3. *c.* 1. THEODORET (*Haeret. fab. l.* 2. *c.* 2.) poſitively attributes this *Goſpel of the Nazarens* to PETER, as being the Apoſtle of the Circumciſion: if his meaning be not rather, that the Nazarens made uſe of PETER's GOSPEL, mention'd before, as well as of *the Goſpel of the Hebrews?* And were they extant, 'tis poſſible they wou'd appear to be all but one and the ſame book. It admits of a doubt, whether JUSTIN MARTYR has quoted *the Goſpel of the twelve Apoſtles* as authentic, in his *Dialogue with* TRYPHON.

5. THE *Goſpel of the Egyptians. Clem. Roman. Epiſt.* 2. *ad Corinth. c.* 12. *Clem. Alex. Stromat. l.* 3. *Origen. homil.* 1. *in Luc. Epiphan. Haereſ.* 62. *n.* 2. *Hieronym. in Prooem. Comment. ſuper Mat. Tit. Boſtrenſ. Comment. in Luc: & Theophylact. ad eundem*

dem Evangeliſtam. Dr. GRABE, and others, were of the mind, that this *Goſpel of the Egyptians* (no leſs than that of *the Hebrews*) was written before LUKE's; and therefore older than thoſe in our Canon. The Fragments of it are as enigmatical and obſcure as thoſe of the Philoſopher HERACLITUS.

6. THE *Apoſtles Creed* I may fairly reckon among theſe Pieces. Of late years it begins to be call'd in queſtion with more accuracy of Criticiſm, than before. Every one may have ample ſatisfaction in this matter by peruſing *the Hiſtory of the Creed*, by the no leſs learned, than modeſt and judicious, Sir PETER KING, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas: as alſo by reading VOSSIUS (who wrote long before) *of the three Creeds*; and TENTZELIUS's *Exercitation* upon that of the Apoſtles. I have likewiſe written *a Diſſertation* upon this Subject my ſelf, which I lent to a Gentleman who dy'd without reſtoring it to me; and perhaps he lent it to ſome of his friends (for I have yet no account of it from his Executors) which will make me more difficult about my own, or other Manuſcripts, for the future. In all theſe Pieces it is (among other things common to them all, and peculiar to each) clearly demonſtrated, that the *Creed* was neither compos'd by the Apoſtles, nor all at once by any others; but that it grew to its preſent form by degrees, and upon va-

rious occaſions, there ſpecify'd, eſpecially in Sir PETER KING's Hiſtory.

7. THE *Doctrine and Conſtitution* (not Conſtitutions) *of the Apoſtles. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 25. Athanaſ. in Synopſi S. Scripturar. Epiphan. Haereſ. 45. n. 2, 5. Haereſ. 70. n. 10, 14. Haereſ. 75. n. 6. & Haereſ. 80. n. 75. Idem in compendiaria fidei Expoſitione. Incertus de Aleatoribus inter Scripta Cypriani.*

8. THERE are Διδαχαι and Διδασκαλιαι, or *Doctrines* and *Inſtructions*, as well as Κερυγματα and Παραδοσεις, or *Preachings* and *Traditions*, attributed both to every one almoſt of the Apoſtles ſingly, and alſo to their Companions and Succeſſors. Theſe Doctrines were uſually bound with the other books of the *New Teſtament*, as appears by *the Stichometry of* NICEPHORUS, and by ſuch other Indexes of *the Scriptures*. Yet it was not always pretended that they were original Pieces, but rather Collections of what the Companions and Succeſſors of the Apoſtles either heard, or pretended to hear, from their own mouths. It is obſerv'd by the beſt Critics, that moſt, if not all of thoſe Doctrines, are comprehended in *the Apoſtolic Conſtitutions* (of which book in the following Article) ſince the greateſt part of the Fragments, or Remains, of the loſt *Doctrines*, agree with the Contents of theſe ſame *Conſtitutions*.

9. WE need not produce our Authors either for the *Canons* or *Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles*, ſince they are almoſt unanimouſly admitted by the Greecs; and that ſo many learned Members, both of the Churches of England and of Rome, have written large volums to prove theſe (eſpecially the *Canons*) if not genuine, yet of very great authority. We muſt however remark, that EPIPHANIUS in particular, quotes the *Conſtitution*, not the *Conſtitutions*, as Canonical; *Haereſ.* 45. *n.* 5: and elſewhere, as you find him cited in article 7. of this Chapter. Indeed he uſes the plural number in *Haereſ.* 80. *n.* 7; where he reckons them divinely inſpir'd: and proves from thence, that we ſhould not cut our beards, nor let our hair grow long, this being a grave apoſtolic ordinance; tho not obſerv'd by Mr. WHISTON, the moſt declar'd advocate of theſe Conſtitutions. But there's demonſtration, that the *Conſtitutions* quoted by EPIPHANIUS, are not the ſame with thoſe we have at this day; being in certain things, as in the obſervation of Eaſter for one, quite contrary one to another. This CATALOGUE is not the place to examine, what the defenders of the *Canons* and *Conſtitutions* of the APOSTLES anſwer to the objection of their ſo late appearance in the world, and to ſome other exceptions againſt their genuineneſs or authority: for I muſt beg Mr. WHISTON's pardon, whom I honor for his Learning and

firmneſs of mind, if I think not ſo highly of 'em as he profeſſes to do.

10. THE *Precepts of* PETER *and* PAUL, and, I ſuppoſe, of ſome other Apoſtles: for this ſeems as general, as their *Doctrines, Preachings*, or *Traditions*. This book lies in Manuſcript in the Great Duke's Library in Florence, if we believe LUDOVICUS JACOBUS *a Sancto Carolo*, in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia, l.* 1. *pag.* 177. Perhaps it is the ſame (as I ſaid) with *the Preaching of* PETER *and* PAUL: for they are ſo often confounded together, that I am apt to think they were not two books.

11. THE preſent Coptic Chriſtians have a book of *Doctrines*, which they believe was compos'd by the twelve Apoſtles, with the ſpecial aſſiſtance of Saint PAUL, &c. *Ludolf. Comment. ad Hiſt. Aethiopic. pag.* 334, 236.

12. THE *Goſpel of Perfection*. An admirable Title! for the very ſake of which, I wiſh it were extant. But EPIPHANIUS, who ſaw it, ſays *it was the perfection of ſorrow; for that the whole perfection of Death was contain'd in that off-ſpring of the Devil. Haereſ.* 26. *n.* 2. I have given reaſons elſewhere, how little we ought to rely on the judgment or veracity of this Father: and here I think it a fit place to obſerve, that Mr. SYKE, knowing nothing belike of this book, has

wrong tranſlated it *the Perfect Goſpel*; *fecitque Dominus* JESUS *plurima in Aegypto miracula, quae neque in* Evangelio Infantiae, *neque in* Evangelio perfecto, *ſcripta reperiuntur*. pag. 71.

13. THE *Goſpel of Truth*: A better Title ſtill! tho IRENEUS, whoſe authority I value as little as that of EPIPHANIUS, affirms that it agreed in nothing with *the Goſpels of the Apoſtles*. *Adverſus Haereſ. l.* 3. *c.* 11. This was likewiſe call'd the *Goſpel of* VALENTINE. *Ibid.*

14. THE *Acts of all the Apoſtles*, written by themſelves, principally receiv'd by the Ebionites. *Epiphan. Haereſ.* 30. *n.* 16. *Theodoret. Haeret. fab. l.* 3. *c.* 4. *Varadatus in Epiſt. ad Leonem. Imp. in Concil. Labb. tom.* 4. *col.* 978. *Jo. Malala, Chronograph. l.* 10.

15. THE *Acts of the Apoſtles by* ABDIAS, the pretended firſt Biſhop of Babylon, is a pretty modern impoſture; and long preceded by *the Acts of the Apoſtles according to* LEUCIUS, whereof AUGUSTINE, *lib. de fide contra Manichaeos, cap.* 38.

16. THERE were *Acts* or *Journeys* of the Apoſtles extant in PHOTIUS's time, compos'd by one LEUCIUS CHARINUS, a fam'd Impoſtor, of whom before. This book contain'd

tain'd the moſt childiſh and ridiculous things in the world: particularly, that there wou'd be a Reſurrection of Cows and Horſes, as well as of Men and Women. *In Biblioth. cod.* 114.

17. THE *Lots of the Apoſtles* are mention'd in the *Decree of* GELASIUS; and a book under this title is publiſh'd *inter Miſcellanea Eccleſiaſtica Poſthuma Petri Pithoei.*

18. THE *Praiſe,* or Panegyric, *of the Apoſtles,* is mention'd in the ſame *Decree* of GELASIUS; and, in ſome copies of it, *the Paſſions of the Apoſtles.*

19. THE *Memoire of the Apoſtles,* reckon'd a moſt blaſphemous piece by TURIBIUS *Aſturicenſis, in Epiſt. ad Idacium & Ceſonium, inter Epiſtolas Leonis Magni apud Paſchaſium Queſnellum. Item. Paul. Oroſ. in Commonitor. de erroribus Priſcillianiſtarum & Origeniſtarum.*

20. THE *Itinerary of all the Apoſtles,* as well as of every one of 'em ſingly, was formerly extant, as more than once hinted.

◆

CHAPTER XVIII.

Diſciples and Companions of the Apoſtles.

OF the books aſcrib'd to the Diſciples and Companions of the APOSTLES, and which are ſtill extant (for we have nam'd a ſufficient number of extinct Pieces) ſome are thought genuin and of great authority at this time; every one was approv'd at ſome time, or by ſome party: and yet I am of opinion, that it is the eaſieſt task in the world (next to that of ſhowing the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the writers) to prove them all ſpurious, and fraudulently impos'd on the credulous. Thoſe I principally mean, are, 1. The two Epiſtles of CLEMENS ROMANUS *to the Corinthians*, his *Recognitions*, *Decretals*, and all other pieces bearing his name. 2. All the *Epiſtles of* IGNATIUS, of what ſtamp or edition ſoever. 3. The *Epiſtle of* POLYCARPUS *to the Philippians*; not to inſiſt on his other writings long ſince loſt, of which yet I judge by what is preſerv'd. 4. The *Acts of the Martyrdom of* IGNATIUS *and* POLYCARPUS. 5. The *Paſtor of* HERMAS. 6. The *Epiſtle of* BARNABAS, together with his *Goſpel*, of which before: And 7. The works of DIONYSIUS *the Areopagite*. Let us add to theſe, tho at no time near ſo much eſteem'd,

8. The *Epiſtle of* MARCELLUS (PETER's Diſciple) *to* NEREUS *and* ACHILLEUS, and his treatiſe *of the conflict of* PETER *and* SIMON *Magus:* he has given a relation *of the death of* PETRONILLA, PETER's daughter; and *of the paſſion of* FELICULA, both virgins. 9. The *Life of* JOHN *by* PROCHORUS (mention'd before) one of the ſeven Deacons, and couſin to Saint STEPHEN. 10. The *Petition of* VERONICA *to Herod,* on the behalf of CHRIST. 11. The *Paſſion of* TIMOTHY *by* POLYCRATES. 12. The *Paſſions of* PETER *and* PAUL, in two books by LINUS. 13. The *two Epiſtles of* MARTIAL *of Limouſin*; and 14. The *Life of the ſame by* AURELIANUS. 15. The *Hiſtory of the Apoſtolical conflict by* ABDIAS, mention'd before. 16. The *Paſſion of Saint* ANDREW, written by the Presbyters of Achaia. 17. The *Epiſtle of* EUODIUS, entitul'd, *the Light*. 18. The anonymous Hiſtorian of the Evangeliſt MARK, of whom above; as alſo, 19. of JOHN MARK *of the paſſion of* BARNABAS. 20. The *Acts of* TITUS, compos'd by ZENA St. PAUL's companion. 21. The *Acts of* CRATO. 22. PHILALETHES EUSEBIANUS *of the Paſſions of* CHRIST; and 23. MELITO *of the virtues of the Apoſtles*: with a multitude of other *Acts*, *Martyrdoms*, *Paſſions*, *Legends*, and *Menologies*, which, becauſe confeſſedly modern, are nothing to our purpoſe. 24. The *Revelation of* STEPHEN: 25. The *Altercation of* JASON *and* PAPISCUS; with, 26. The *Epiſtles of* JOSEPH *the Arima-*

Arimathean to the Britons, are abſolutely loſt; and, were they extant, wou'd probably appear to be as fooliſh and fabulous as the reſt.

AS it can't be deny'd, but that NICODEMUS was an acquaintance of the Apoſtles; ſo this is the proper place to mention, 27. his *Goſpel.* By ſeveral paſſages it ſeems to be an impoſture of the fifth century: and there's a very comical account given in it, of the deſcent of CHRIST into hell; how the Devils barricado'd that infernal priſon, with their other preparations to keep him out; in what manner the *Old Teſtament* Saints within knew of the approach of their deliverer, and what a terrible mutiny they rais'd againſt the Devils to betray the place to him; and finally how JESUS broke open thoſe adamantine bars, the whole farce (for it is no other) being carry'd on in Scripture-phraſe, and pretended to be reveal'd by CHARINUS and LENTHIUS, two of thoſe that are ſaid to have come out of their graves at the Reſurrection of CHRIST. Theſe names ſeem to be borrow'd from LEUCIUS CHARINUS, of whom more than once before.

I cannot forbear remembring in this place, from the affinity of the Subject, 28. the *Eternal Goſpel,* which, about the middle of the thirteenth century, was forg'd and publiſh'd by the mendicant Fryers, as the perfecters (forſooth)

(forſooth) of God's Economy. See concerning it MATTHEW PARIS, in the year 1257.

CHAPTER XIX.

Heathen Books forg'd to propagate Chriſtianity.

I HAVE taken notice, in the 5th Article of the 16th Chapter, of books that were publiſh'd under the names of remarkable Perſons in the *Old Teſtament*, in favor of CHRIST and the Chriſtian Religion. But as if neither by thoſe, nor by others mention'd hitherto in this CATALOGUE, the Cauſe cou'd be ſufficiently ſecur'd; they did alſo feign books, to ſerve the ſame purpoſe, under the names of the Heathens, ſome of which are as follows:

1. THE Works of TRISMEGISTUS, which, if not altogether forg'd by Chriſtians, are ſo much interpolated by them, that there's no diſtinguiſhing the genuin from the ſpurious parts. They are extant in Greec, and in many Tranſlations. But as for the Dialogue, entitul'd ASCLEPIUS, extant only in Latin, ſaid to be the Tranſlation of APULEIUS, 'tis plainly of heathen original, and contains many noble footſteps of the antient Philoſophy.

2. THE Books of ZOROASTER and HYSTASPES. Tho the Greec of theſe is loſt,

yet Dr. HYDE, in his *Hiſtory of the Religion of the antient Perſians,* has publiſh'd to the world, that he had them in the ancient Perſian language, in which they were originally written. But whether in their original purity, or interpolated, we know not; tho more probably the laſt, by reaſon of certain Prophecies concerning the MESSIAH, promis'd by the Doctor in his very title-page.

3. THE *Sibylline Oracles,* cited ſo frequently, and with ſuch authority by the primitive Fathers, both Greec and Latin, that CELSUS takes occaſion from thence to nickname the Chriſtians *Sibylliſts. Origen. contra Celſ. l.* 5. They are extant, ſuch as ſome Chriſtians have made them: but the groſſneſs of the Impoſture has been abundantly expos'd by many able pens, tho ſeveral of late (among whom Mr. WHISTON) have endeavor'd to retrieve the credit of ſome of them; which they diſtinguiſh in a manner that exact Criticiſm will not bear, from thoſe much more numerous, which they confeſs to be manifeſtly ſuppoſitions.

4. THE *Epiſtle of* LENTULUS, a Roman Senator, giving a deſcription of the Perſon of CHRIST. It is extant, with ſeveral various Readings; and was formerly in high credit with the Quakers, who found that it exactly reſembl'd JAMES NAILER.

5. THE *Letters of* PONTIUS PILATE *to* TIBERIUS, with TIBERIUS's *Anſwer*, and the *Speech of* TIBERIUS *to the Senate*, about receiving CHRIST among the Gods. Theſe, with another book, call'd *the Acts of* PILATE, are all extant: but ſo full of Inconſiſtencies, Anachroniſms, Fables, and Abſurdities of all ſorts; that it may well bear a diſpute who were the moſt ſtupid, the forgers or the believers of theſe Pieces. Yet ſo great was their ſucceſs, that the Heathens, in the reign of MAXIMIN, did oppoſe to them other *Acts of* PILATE, full of blaſphemies againſt CHRIST: and MAXIMIN not only order'd them to be publiſh'd every where, but alſo to be learnt by boys at ſchool. This we are told by EUSEBIUS, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 9. *c.* 5; and by NICEPHORUS, *Hiſt. Eccleſ. l.* 7. *c.* 26. They were in all probability as falſe and fabulous, as the Chriſtian ones; which laſt impos'd too much upon JUSTIN MARTYR and TERTULLIAN, or were by them deceitfully impos'd upon others. They both of 'em confidently refer to them: the firſt in his *firſt Apology*, and the ſecond in his *Apologetic*. EUSEBIUS likewiſe ſpeaks favorably of them in his *Chronicle*, and in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, *l.* 2. *c.* 2; and EPIPHANIUS, *Haereſ.* 5. *n.* 1.

6. THE *Epiſtles*, *Reſcripts*, or Orders of ADRIAN, ANTONINUS PIUS, and MARCUS AURELIUS, in favor of the Chriſtians (evidently

convicted of forgery by TANAQUIL FABER and others) are extant in JUSTIN MARTYR.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Goſpels of VALENTINE, BASILIDES, MARCION, APPELLES, CERINTHUS, TATIAN, *and others.*

I DOUBT not but by this time the Reader thinks I am at the end of my CATALOGUE; but his curioſity muſt animate his patience a little longer: for altho it conſiſts already of nineteen Chapters, there muſt ſtill be this one more to make it complete.

IN the ſeventeenth Chapter we took notice of *the Goſpel of* VALENTINE: and the other Gnoſtics, according to (1) EPIPHANIUS, had a numerous tribe of divine Books, among which *Jadalbaoth* was not in their eyes the leaſt valuable. BASILIDES alſo wrote his own *Goſpel,* as (2) ORIGEN, in concert with other writers, does aſſert. Yet by the phraſe of BASILIDES's *Goſpel,* they meant perhaps his *Commentaries:* for, whether it were upon his own or upon ſome other, he wrote no fewer than twenty four books of *Commentaries on the*

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(1) Haereſ. 26. n. 8.

(2) Prooem. in Luc. Item tractat. 26. in Mat.

the Goſpel; together with his Prophets BARCABBAS and BARCOPH or PARCHOR.

I take *the Goſpel of* MARCION, the *Goſpel of* APPELLES, and thoſe of ſome other reputed Heretics mention'd by the Fathers, to have been their Editions or Interpolations of other *Goſpels*, rather than original compoſitions of their own.

NOR do I believe CERINTHUS had a peculiar *Goſpel*, as EPIPHANIUS (3) doubtingly intimates; who is further at a loſs whether MERINTHUS and he were two, or one and the ſame perſon: tho 'tis a thouſand to one, that MERINTHUS never exiſted. I doubt not for my part, but CERINTHUS and his companions us'd *the Goſpel of the Hebrews*, as did likewiſe the Carpocratians: for both theſe were but ſubdiviſions of the Nazarens or Ebonites, the Fathers loving to multiply Sects as well as *Goſpels*; and dubbing every man the head of a party, who made any new diſcovery, or had any private opinion, tho agreeing in all things elſe with his Church or Society. He has obſerv'd nothing, who has not obſerv'd this to be their temper and practice.

THE Encratites, another branch from the Nazaren ſtock, did, together with the *Goſpel of the Egyptians*, make uſe alſo of TATIAN's

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(3) Haereſ. 51.

Goſpel; which was compil'd out of our four receiv'd *Goſpels*, or out of ſome other four, by way of *Harmony*: that is, by variouſly omitting, adding, tranſpoſing, interpoſing, joining, and disjoining. From its four Elements (as we may ſay) TATIAN's *Goſpel* was call'd *Diateſſaron*. EPIPHANIUS (who confounds every thing, *Goſpels* and men) miſtakes it (4) for the juſt nam'd *Goſpel of the Hebrews*, as he took this latter for that of MATTHEW. So he ſays that the Ebionites or Nazarens, and CERINTHUS a great man among them, left out (5) of their *Goſpel* the Genealogy of CHRIST; and yet, in the very ſame diſcourſe, he affirms (6) that not only CERINTHUS, but likewiſe CARPOCRAS (another Ebionite of diſtinction) wou'd prove by this very Genealogy, that CHRIST was the Son of JOSEPH and MARY. But he was not the only perſon among the Orthodox, on whom TATIAN impos'd: for THEODORET aſſures us, that his *Goſpel* deceiv'd a world of people; and that he had himſelf remov'd (7) above 200 of them out of Churches, placing others in their ſtead.

THE Manicheans had their *living Goſpel*: and the followers of SIMON MAGUS (whom I ought to have nam'd firſt) had, beſides other

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(4) Haereſ. 30. n. 13.
(5) Haereſ. 28. n. 5. & Haereſ. 30. n. 3, 13.
(6) Ibid. n. 13.
(7) Haereſ. fabul. l. 1. c. 20.

Scriptures, *four Goſpels* very different from ours.

THERE was in the ſecond Century one LEUCIUS, often already named, that diſtinguiſh'd himſelf far above all the reſt, in forging or falſifying ſuch Books. He was a Prieſt, and had a great many Names beſides that of LEUCIUS; as SELEUCUS, LEONTIUS, LUCIANUS, LEUTICIUS or LENTICIUS, and ſo on, ſome of which were probably but corruptions of his true name by Tranſcribers. He publiſh'd Books not only under the names of MATTHEW, JAMES, PETER, and JOHN; but likewiſe many under that of PAUL, whom he particularly affected. He made *Acts* and *Paſſions* of the Apoſtles, a *Nativity of the Virgin* MARY: and, in concert with one HESYCHIUS another Prieſt, he falſify'd many *Goſpels*; as JEROM witneſſes in his *Preface to the Goſpels*, and for which GELASIUS, in his *Decree*, calls him *the Diſciple of the Devil.* You may alſo conſult about him, among many others, AUGUSTINE in his book *of the Faith againſt the Manicheans*, as well as in the ſecond book of *Tranſactions with* FELIX of the ſame ſect, and PHOTIUS in the 114th book of his *Library*.

SIMON and CLEOBULUS made ſeveral books under the names of CHRIST and his Apoſtles, as we learn from the 16th Chapter of the 6th book of the *Apoſtolic Conſtitutions.*

THE Helceſaites had a Book, which (as we are inform'd by (8) EUSEBIUS and by (9) THEODORET) they pretended was *fallen down from heaven*, juſt as the Turks ſpeak of their *Alcoran.*

INNOCENT the firſt, in his 3d *Letter to* EXUPERIUS, aſſures us, that the Philoſophers NEXOCHARIDAS and LEONIDAS forg'd Books under the name of ANDREW and others.

BUT, to take one huge leap over the monſtrous and infinite impoſtures down from the fourth Century to this day (excepting that only whereof I am going to ſpeak) it is not yet 200 years ſince the Jeſuit XAVIER impos'd for *Goſpel* on his Perſian Converts, a *Hiſtory of* CHRIST of his own framing, very different in many things from the Books of the *New Teſtament*; and containing the groſſeſt fables, innovations and ſuperſtitions, of Popery, as if expreſly taught by CHRIST and his APOSTLES. After this book had been brought to Europe, it was tranſlated into Latin, and the fraud expos'd to all the world by LUDOVICUS DE DIEU, a Profeſſor at Leyden, incomparably skilful in the oriental languages. To the ſame volume our Jeſuit did join, out of profound reſpect to the Roman Pontif and Hierarchy, a moſt romantic *Hiſtory of* PETER, Prince of the Church, and proto-parent of the Popes, with which extraordinary Piece I end this CATALOGUE.

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(8) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 38.
(9) Haeret. fabul. l. 2. c. 7.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE South Sea Scheme *.

Introduction.

AN Act having paſt laſt Seſſion of Parliament for veſting the Eſtates of all the Directors, without any diſtinction, in Truſtees for the benefit of the South Sea Company; theſe Memoirs are made public to bring to light the dark contrivances of thoſe men, who were the cauſe of all the misfortunes which attended the amazing execution of the Scheme, which cannot be extenuated, nor any other way excus'd. But 'tis hoped it may appear by this Diſcourſe that the artifices of the Decemvirs, or at leaſt of the principal of them, were ſo deeply laid, the meaſures for compaſſing their ends ſo cunningly taken, and the whole executed with that premeditated precipitancy and confuſion (the ſureſt method for preventing circumſpection or examination) that it was not poſſible for the well-meaning Directors to oppoſe the torrent ſo effectually, as to prevent the ill effects of thoſe impoſitions, which were ſo magiſterially put upon them. This will not appear improbable, far leſs incredible, if it be particularly conſidered, that whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the Decemvirs were the idols of the people; and, as the diſtributors of thoſe fancy'd bleſſings they were ſhowring upon them, little leſs than ador'd. Every body remembers this ſo well, that there needs no further proof of it; no more than that the other Directors were look'd upon as cyphers, and men that had no ſhare in the honor. Many therefore are inclined to believe, that ſince a diſtinction there was between the Directors, (which will appear undeniably by the ſequel), if there had been a diſtinction likewiſe in cenſuring them, and that the Puniſhment had extended no farther than to the authors of the miſchief, by making the plunder to be reſtored, and the unjuſt gains to be refunded; that if the old Eſtates, they had before the Scheme, had been left to the Directors who behaved themſelves honeſtly: it had, it is humbly conceived, been neither diſagreeable to the rules of juſtice, nor diſpleaſing to the reaſonable part of mankind; and perhaps had brought as much mony into the Company's coffers, at leaſt with more certainty and ſpeed, than this ſeverity uſed againſt them all without diſtinction, is likely to do. What weight or juſtice there may be in this, will appear from the following account of the whole; in which ſome will perhaps be ſurpriz'd, or perhaps angry, to find certain perſons otherwiſe repreſented, than they conceived, or elſe wiſh'd 'em to be: but the Author of it has taken a reſolution from the beginning, not to gratify the paſſions or reſentments of others, no more than his own; and to ſay neither leſs nor more, then he really believes to be Truth.

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* This Piece is not Mr. TOLAND's, but it was found among his MSS, and is enlarged and corrected throughout with his own hand.

THE SECRET HISTORY, &c.

IN the beginning of the year 1719, the South-Sea Company undertook to take in, and add to their Stock, the Lottery of 1710: and altho' the whole was not ſubſcribed, yet the deſign ſucceeded ſo far, as that the Company got 70000 l. and the Government about 200000 l. by the undertaking. This ſucceſs gave thoughts of doing ſomething of the like nature, the next Seſſion of Parliament. But the progreſs of the Miſſiſſipi Company about that time having intoxicated, and turned the brains of moſt people, APPIUS's mind was thereby wonderfully affected, and from his natural inclination to Projects, ſo inflamed, that he could brook no longer the narrow thoughts he had entertained before, of engaging for one or two branches of the public Funds only; but carried on his views for taking in at once all the national Debts, the Bank and Eaſt India Company included: often ſaying, "That as Mr. LAW had taken his pattern from

“ him, and improved upon what was done “ here the year before in relation to the Lot-“ tery of 1710, he would now improve up-“ on what was done in France, and out-do “ Mr. Law.” Unhappy Emulation! for any hook, artfully cover’d with ſuch a tempting bait, was ſure to be ſwallow’d. To put his conceptions in a method of being underſtood, he conſulted the Treaſurer of the Company, and another perſon who was vulgarly reputed to have ſtudied the black art, his near relation and boſom friend, and who was then chief Accountant to the Company. Nor was it abſurdly imagin’d of the town, to take a man for a Negromancer, Conjurer, or what you pleaſe more artful, who cou’d bring his horſes to eat gold, when they did not like hay; and from a grinder of Coffee ſo to order his affairs, that a noble Duke and a Marquis thought it an honor to ſupport him under each arm, being crippl’d with the gout, and to help him into his coach with moſt profound reſpect. *O tempora! O mores!* With the help of the Treaſurer and this ſame Mephoſtophilus, Appius form’d that famous Scheme, which has ſince proved ſo fatal, and brought ſo much uneaſineſs upon the Nation. He had no ſooner got his Scheme ready, but he made application to the prime Miniſter, by means of a perſon who had free acceſs to him: but whether his Lordſhip diſliked the Projector or the Project, he would not ſee Appius, and referred him to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This is certain fact. Appius’s

PIUS's high ſpirit could not well digeſt being thus treated, and ſaid that his Scheme was of ſuch importance that it ought to be communicated to none but the King himſelf or his prime Miniſter. However being unwilling to loſe the fruits of his labour, and having ſome acquaintance with one of the Secretaries of State, who had been at the head of the Treaſury, he went to his Lordſhip and ſhew'd him the Scheme: but meeting there with ſeveral objections, and a diſlike of the whole in the main, APPIUS found himſelf under a neceſſity either of going to the Chancellor of the Exechequer, or of laying aſide all thoughts of his Project. Former occurrences not having left thoſe two gentlemen cordial friends, he took with him the Treaſurer, and Mr. H..... one of the Directors who was much in the Chancellor's favour; and after ſeveral meetings having got over ſome difficulties, which were thrown in his way by another Society, that narrowly watched his ſteps, the Scheme was entertained, and opened to the Houſe of Commons in the manner every body knows: three Millions being offered without the conſent of the general Court, or the knowledge of the Court of Directors; a preſumption perhaps not to be parallel'd in any paſt tranſaction, but perfectly of a piece with APPIUS's future conduct in the management of that important affair. The Bank having thought fit to interpoſe, and to bid more than the Chancellor had offered, APPIUS reſolving to ſtick at nothing to carry his point, got an order of Court to leave it to the Sub and Deputy Governors to offer what they ſhould think fit; who having bid ſeven Millions and a half, the Houſe of Commons accepted their Propoſal.

THERE were not thoſe wanting at that time amongſt the Directors, and alſo amongſt thoſe in a higher ſtation, who thought that undertaking too bold for any ſociety; and that inſtead of a ſum certain, it had been better and ſafer to proceed in the ſame manner as the year before, viz. that the government ſhould have a ſhare of the profit which might accrue by the undertaking, as, ſuppoſe, two thirds or three fourths. By this method no gain of the Company, tho' ever ſo great, could have been invidious, ſince the public would have had the greateſt ſhare: the Government and the Company being united in intereſt, the Scheme in all events would have been ſupported: and perſons of conſequence, and experienced in affairs of a higher nature, would have been join'd in commiſſion for the due executing of it. But this did not ſuit with the inclinations and views of ſome men, whoſe aim was to ingroſs to themſelves the power of executing the Scheme, which they believed they had craft enough to compaſs, if it was left to the management of the Court of Directors. Therefore in due time they procured a Commiſſion, unknown to the other Directors, conſtituting the one and thirty of that Court to be Truſtees and Managers for taking in the public Debts: which was, in effect, giving the ſole power to ſix or ſeven of them; as they who know any thing about a Court of Directors, will readily own.

IN conſequence of the Propoſal made in the name of the Company, and accepted by the Houſe of Commons, a Bill was ordered to be brought in; and APPIUS got a Committee appointed, as is uſual for all Companies in ſuch caſes to do, *for taking care that the Bill ſhould be conformable to the Propoſal:* for this is preciſely all that ever was or could be intended by *taking care of the Bill*, as it was commonly worded; and not that the Committee ſhould uſe all ways and means, Bribery not excepted, to have it paſs'd. In this ſenſe the Court of Directors never underſtood it, and therefore the Committee proving too numerous for APPIUS, more being named than he intended; and there being ſome amongſt them, whom he knew were not to be brought into his meaſures: he propoſed, under pretence of ſecrecy, that it ſhould be left to the Sub and Deputy-Governors to *take care of the Bill*, (viz. that the Bill, as has been ſaid already, ſhould be agreeable to the Propoſal) with the advice of ſuch of the Directors as they ſhould think fit. This the Court of Directors unwarily came into, having an intire confidence in thoſe two gentlemen, whoſe reputation was then clear and unblemiſh'd. But ſuch an unadviſed conceſſion laid the foundation of all the future incroachments upon the Court of Directors themſelves: for no ſooner was this point gained, but Appius thinking it a fit opportunity to uſurp a power for ever, which was only granted for a time, work'd upon the Sub and Deputy-Governors to extend this conceſſion to the whole Scheme; and to conſtitute by their own authority, and without acquainting the Court of Directors with it, a Cabinet Council, as it may very juſtly be call'd, which ſhould concert and direct all the affairs of the Company in relation to the Scheme. This Council was made up of the Sub and Deputy Governors, Appius, Mr. C.... Mr. G.... Mr. H..... and the Treaſurer, who acted with them as Secretary. This laſt, upon his examination * on the 21ſt of January, which was the day he went away, own'd the truth of this, and acquainted the Secret Committee, that the Sub and Deputy-Governors, with the advice of ſuch Directors as they ſhould think fit, had the direction of the Scheme, and that thoſe gentlemen they conſulted with, were Sir J. B. Mr. C... Mr. G... and Mr. H... But beſides this cabinet Council, Appius ſecured to his particular intereſt, Mr. H..... and Mr. S...... two of the Di-

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* In p. 11. of the printed *Report*.

rectors of the Treaſury, and the chief Accountant; and at the head of theſe ten, who were all ſubſervient to his deſigns, he governed afterwards according to his will and pleaſure all the affairs of the Company.

NOT unlike to APPIUS (as was ſaid before) and the Decemviri of old, who being appointed with a Dictatorial power for compiling and reducing into ten Tables, the Laws which were brought from Greece; and having once got poſſeſſion, attempted to make their power perpetual. Nay, they actually kept it, till by their unjuſt and violent proceedings, they had almoſt overturned the Commonwealth: and enraged the people to that degree, that they conſtrained APPIUS, the head of thoſe Decemvirs, to kill himſelf in priſon, and by his death an end was put to the tyranny.

THE firſt thing our APPIUS did, after he had ſettled his Decemvirate, was to take effectual care of ſecuring the paſſing of the Bill (inſtead of ſeeing that the Bill was anſwerable to the Propoſal) in order to which, the ſale of the fictitious Stock was thought of, as the moſt effectual way to bring it about. But they are much miſtaken, who think that the whole 574500 l. were diſtributed amongſt Lords or Members of Parliament for that purpoſe. They may take it for granted, that APPIUS and his Colleagues took a good ſhare of it for themſelves,

ſelves, when they ſaw the price of Stock advance; and ſold it afterwards at a proper time, which enabled them to pay the difference according to their engagements, without charging the Company with it. As they intended to conceal this tranſaction, and to keep it from the knowledge of all others as long as they could, they poſtponed laying before the Committee of Treaſury the entry in the Caſh Book, relating to the ſale of that ſtock, till the beginning of June, which was full two months after it was done; ſo that they had time enough to encreaſe it at their pleaſure.

BY this entry in the Caſh Book it did not appear, to whom the ſtock was ſold; neither did they deliver any account thereof to the Committee of Accounts, as is uſual: for the Committee of Treaſury has nothing to do with the examining of Accounts (which was unfortunately underſtood to be otherwiſe, by ſome Gentlemen in an eminent ſtation) but are only to ſee that the Caſh belonging to the Company be kept right, and that the mony be duly paid, when they receive notice of what is to be paid from the Committee of Accounts. And this may be ſaid to the honor of the Committee of Treaſury, that, notwithſtanding the many irregularities committed by the Treaſurer, in matters which were not under their inſpection, but were underhand ordered by APPIUS, or the Cabinet Council: they yet had ſuch a watchful eye over him, in what did properly relate to their buſineſs, that there was no deficiency in the Caſh during all that confuſed and haſty tranſaction.

THE very day that the Bill had the Royal Aſſent, APPIUS began to ſet his engines at work, in order to a mony Subſcription. As this was a new thing, and had never been talk'd of before, he did not think proper to propoſe it abruptly; but the better to diſguiſe his concerting matters in private, he appointed a meeting of the major part of the Directors, where it was long debated what was fit to be done for ſupporting the Price of the Stock, which was then falling, whether by artifice or naturally is not well known: and a Subſcription being propoſed at 300, ſeveral of thoſe, who were not in the ſecret, expreſt their fears of the ſucceſs of it, eſpecially at ſo much above the market-price. But when it came to the queſtion, it was eaſily carried for ſuch a Subſcription, as had been agreed before-hand: for ſome of his Colleagues, the better to bring others into their opinion, ſaid that they were already ſure of good ſums, and that their friends were fond of it at that rate; which could not have been ſaid, if thoſe friends had not been ſpoke to before the meeting. This Subſcription, taken on the 14th of April, was intended by the Court of Directors for two Millions, and a great deal of pains was taken to keep it to that ſum: but the Cabinet Council found means to encreaſe it to 2250000l. and to keep that exceeding for themſelves; which, one would think, ſhould exclude others from their puniſhment in that reſpect, as it did in their guilt.

THIS ſucceeding ſo well, and the price advancing even beyond their expectations, about a fortnight after a Court was called unexpectedly, and APPIUS moved for another Subſcription of one Million at 400, and to take it immediately. Several of the Directors, who were not apprized of the matter, begg'd for two or three days time, that they might ſpeak to their friends; but all to no purpoſe. The Gentlemen of the Cabinet Council were ready, and had taken their meaſures; if the others were not ſo, they muſt be contented with a leſs ſum: and accordingly each Director had, in this ſecond Subſcription, taken on the 29th of April, but 26000 l. allowed for himſelf and friends, and his Liſt ordered to be delivered to the Sub-Governor the next day. The remainder, being 246000 l. was left to the Sub and Deputy-Governors, to diſpoſe of at their pleaſure. The greatneſs of the ſum left to thoſe two Gentlemen was objected againſt, to which anſwer was made that they had a great many to oblige. Some time after, the Sub-Governor declared to the Court, that they could not help taking in as far as 1200000 l.

the demand was ſo great from all the parts of the town; which the Court readily enough acquieſced in, being ſenſible that it was ſo. But they were extremely ſurpriſed, when ſome days after, the price being conſiderably advanced, they heard it declared from the Chair, without any excuſe, that the Subſcription amounted to 1500000 l. This bold ſtroke occaſioned a great deal of murmuring amongſt the Directors. The Subſcription Book was called for, to be laid upon the table for the Directors to peruſe. But in vain; no Subſcription Book, nor any Liſt of the names of the Subſcribers could ever be ſeen, till the Parliament called for it: and the well-meaning Directors were ſo little regarded, that they were refuſed to be admitted to ſee, if their own names or their friends, for whom they had ſubſcribed, were in the Book. Many of thoſe friends, eager at that time to know what they thought their good fortune, could with difficulty believe ſuch Directors as ſtrove to oblige them: nor were they ever ſatisfy'd, till the general Inquiry convinc'd them. This inſulting and unheard of way of proceeding left no room to doubt, but that theſe laſt 300000 l. were kept for the benefit of the Decemviri, and ſhared amongſt them, as the increaſed 250000 l. in the firſt Subſcription had been: which was ſo grating upon the minds of the other Directors, that they were once very near reſolving to rebel, as they uſed to expreſs themſelves. And in effect they would have done it, had there been any other remedy but calling a General Court, and making there a formal complaint; which they feared would have been ill received at that time, conſidering the prevailing humour of the town in favour of Appius and his Colleagues in the conduct of the Scheme. Nor was ſuch a fear vain or groundleſs: for the inſatiable deſire of getting, and the flattering proſpect of doing ſo, with which Appius had bewitch'd people by falſe appearances, were ſo ſtrong, that he who ſhou'd dare to oppoſe him, or to expoſe his artifices, wou'd have been generally decry'd as an envyer of his parts, an enemy to the Scheme, one that wou'd never have the publick debts diſcharg'd, and an oppoſer of the meaſures of the Government, if not diſaffected to it; and 'tis even doubtful, whether he could eſcape without ill treatment to his perſon, from more quarters than one. Let people but reflect a little upon the general madneſs of thoſe days, and they may be ſafely appeal'd to for the truth of all this. However, the jealouſy ran ſo high, that the Court of Directors came to a reſolution to take no more money Subſcriptions, and repeated this order three ſeveral times. This refractorineſs in the Court putting Appius to a ſtand, he judged it beſt to let this humour cool; and therefore he propoſed nothing to the Court for ſome time, nor was any Committee of Treaſury held during five whole weeks. For beſides the uneaſineſs about the mony ſubſcriptions, there were other cauſes of diſcontent amongſt the Directors. The ſubſcription of the long Annuities and other irredeemable Debts, had been taken in ſuch a manner, and in ſo much haſte, that it gave a general diſſatisfaction; and moſt of the Directors were not able to prevent ſeveral of their friends, from being diſoblig'd: another thing about which they can make their Appeal to equitable perſons.

THE lending of the mony ariſing by the two mony ſubſcriptions was very warmly contended againſt. Many in the Court declared their opinion, and inſiſted upon it, that this mony ſhould be applied to pay off the Redeemables; and by dint of argument forc'd APPIUS to own, that there was a great deal of reaſon in what they ſaid: but he anſwer'd, that he had already taken other meaſures, and was for following the humour of people, who were fond of the ſtock at any rate; and that there was no other way to pleaſe them, but by giving them ſtock for their Annuities. Nevertheleſs, conſidering this oppoſition, he thought it his beſt way to temporize, and to wait for a fitter time to put his further deſigns in execution: for having the Chair on his ſide, both in the Court of Directors and in the Committee of Treaſury, he could haſten or delay bringing things to a determination, juſt as he pleaſed, and watch opportunities when oppoſers were abſent.

ANOTHER thing very much mortified the generality of the Directors; which was this. The Cabinet Council kept at firſt their meetings very private, skulking in ſome by-place or tavern in the night, and often ſhifting from one houſe to another; endeavouring to manage it ſo, that the Court of Directors ſhould not ſuſpect they acted in concert: and therefore in the debates they would ſometimes oppoſe one another, the better to prevent their confederacy being diſcovered. But now being grown warm in the ſaddle, and the applauſe they met with abroad making them bold at home; they thought it beneath them to put any longer reſtraint upon their actions; and therefore kept their meetings at the Treaſurer's houſe, on the ſame day and at the ſame hour, that the Court of Directors was appointed to meet, which was commonly at ten of the clock in the forenoon. There concerting their meaſures among themſelves, and little regarding the attendance of the other Directors, who waited in the Court-room, they frequently made them ſtay till twelve or one, and ſometimes till two or three a clock, before they came in to keep the court: and after the uſual buſineſs was diſpatch'd, as reading the minutes of the preceeding Courts and Committees, and that Gentlemen were ſufficiently tired, then what they had agreed upon was abruptly propoſed, and muſt be immediately done in a hurry; which was perhaps one of their reaſons for making them wait ſo long. At leaſt it had ſuch an effect. This was their conſtant way of managing, which made the other Directors almoſt diſtracted, and many of them aſhamed of ſitting amongſt them, which they often told their friends.

Appius knew that the ſcene of action would be in the Treaſury. But tho' he was ſure of the Sub and Deputy-Governors and two more of that Committee; and that the Caſhier, Deputy-Caſhier, and all the Clerks were intirely at his devotion, as looking upon him to be the man who had the ſole direction of the Scheme: yet being ſenſible, that there were ſome of that Committee, who would never approve his proceedings; he made it his main ſtudy to render them inſignificant, and thus he contriv'd it. 'Tis the cuſtom of that Company, that each ſtanding Committee has always one of the Directors for its Chairman, and a certain day in the week is appointed for their meeting. This Chairman takes care to have the minutes entered, and to report the tranſactions of that Committee, of which he is Chairman, to the Court. The Sub and Deputy-Governors may attend any of theſe Committees, and take the Chair if they pleaſe, which they ſeldom do; but ſtill the Chairman is the perſon, who accounts to the Court for the proceedings of his Committee. Now the Committee of Treaſury, no leſs than other Committees, was under theſe reſtrictions before: but ſuch a regular practice would have proved an obſtacle to APPIUS's deſigns. Wherefore the following methods were contrived by him, to make all oppoſition, againſt whatever he intended to accompliſh, ineffectual:

Firſt, The Committee could not be ſummoned but by the Sub or Deputy-Governor's orders, who were namely and in a particular manner made Chairmen of that Committee: which was a manifeſt innovation.

Secondly, No buſineſs relating to the Scheme could be agreed upon or debated, unleſs both or one of them were preſent.

Thirdly, No day certain being fixed for meeting, as in this and other Committees before, they had it in their power to call a Committee on a ſudden, or to forbear calling any Committee at all; when any thing had been done by private direction, which they had a mind to conceal, as it was the caſe in May and July, no Committee having been held during thoſe two months.

Fourthly, When any thing of moment was to be done, care was taken that APPIUS and his Colleagues ſhould be there to give their advice. And this was ſo conſtantly the practice, that there never was any thing done relating to the Scheme by the Committee of Treaſury, without the aſſiſtance (as it was called) of ſeveral of the Cabinet Council, who debated and voted as if they had been of that Committee; a thing never done in any other Committee, nor in this, before.

Fifthly, Appius contrived ſo much buſineſs for the office, that the Clerk ſeldom had time to attend the Committee; and the Treaſurer generally took the minutes in haſte, and upon looſe ſheets, which was done deſignedly: that the minutes might be altered according to Appius's directions, before they were entered in the Book; for as he was not one of that Committee, he muſt uſe ſtratagems to have things done there according to his own mind.

Sixthly, Altho' he had taken ſuch effectual meaſures to render inſignificant thoſe of that Committee, who were not in his intereſt; yet he was ſo jealous of them, that nothing of moment was referred to the Committee of Treaſury ſingly, in the uſual manner: but to the Sub and Deputy-Governors by name, and to the Committee of Treaſury; a language unknown before, and which ſeemed needleſs, ſince they were both of that Committee. But they had ſuch anſwers in view, that they thought they could not do too much to ſecure it; and therefore they conſtantly referred every thing, that related to the Scheme, to the Sub and Deputy-Governors, with flatteries and encomiums ſurpaſſing all belief; to take off the very thoughts of their attempting to do any thing without their ſpecial approbation and conſent. For it was APPIUS's maſter-piece of cunning, to place all the power in the hands of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, of whom the Court of Directors had a good opinion; and he knew that thoſe two Gentlemen were ſo diffident of their own abilities, that they durſt not undertake any thing, without the advice of the Cabinet Council.

HAVING in this manner ſecured himſelf againſt any oppoſition, that could be made in the Treaſury to his deſigns; he went on boldly in his projected execution of the Scheme. 'Twas his avow'd Maxim, a thouſand times repeated, *That the advancing by all means of the price of ſtock, was the only way to promote the good of the Company*; and he look'd upon thoſe as enemies, who durſt ſay they were of another opinion. After the two firſt mony Subſcriptions were taken in, as has been related, APPIUS made a motion to lend out the money that accrued by them: and tho' this motion was vigorouſly oppoſed, yet he carried his point for lending. But the Loan was limited to 500000l. at 250 per Cent. upon Stock, and no body to borrow above 5000*l*. This regulation was ſtrictly obſerved by the Committee of Treaſury. The 500000 l. were lent to indifferent perſons, according to that reſtriction, defeazances ordered to be taken of the Borrowers, and APPIUS deſired to ſee that the defeazances ſhould be proper and in due form. But conſidering with himſelf, that this plain and honeſt way of lending, would not do his buſineſs, he did underhand direct the Caſhiers to lend more, and to ſuch as were moſt likely to raiſe the Stock; which they obſequiouſly did, without obſerving any limitation or rule. What's yet more capital, this additional Loan was made, without the knowledge or privity of the Committe of Treaſury; and was not entered in the Caſh-Book, nor laid before the Committeee, 'till a long time after it was done: and probably this was the reaſon, why no Committee of Treaſury was held from the latter end of April, 'till the beginning of June. Some time after this, the Exchequer-Bills for one Million were iſſued. APPIUS ordered them immediately to be lent, and the Caſhiers diſpos'd of them in one day, to whom and in ſuch manner as APPIUS directed; without conſulting or ſo much as taking notice of the Committee of Treaſury. But as he apprehended, that theſe Exchequer-Bills would be of great uſe in buſineſs, and return often into the hands of the Company, he got himſelf appointed one of the Truſtees for circulating of them; to the end, that having the direction of theſe Bills in both places, he might the better influence the diſpoſing of them to ſerve his particular purpoſes.

ABOUT this time the ſhutting of the Books for the midſummer Dividend being at hand, APPIUS made a motion in the Court of Directors for a dividend of 10 per Cent. in ſtock, and to iſſue warrants for this dividend. It muſt be owned that there was no great oppoſition to this motion, he coloured it with ſo many ſpecious pretences: as, that the old Proprietors had run great hazards in this bold undertaking; that if it had not ſucceeded, they having engaged to pay ſeven millions and a half to the Government, would in a manner have been undone; and therefore ſince Providence had bleſſed with ſucceſs, much beyond expectation, their good intentions for the public ſervice, it was but reaſonable, they ſhould reap ſome fruits of it. Theſe and the like arguments perſuaded, and this fatal Dividend, which perhaps contributed more to intoxicate the minds of people, than any thing done beſides, was agreed to. But the Directors, even thoſe of the Cabinet-Council, were then ſtrangers to the vile inducement which prompted APPIUS to give ſo large a dividend: for having it in his thoughts from the beginning, to make all the advantage for himſelf that he could by the Scheme; his Conjurer early after Chriſtmaſs had by his direction given Premiums for this Midſummer dividend, by which they would have got an immenſe ſum, if the Court of Directors, in Appius's abſence, when he was gone to Tunbridge, had not revoked their order for delivering theſe dividend warrants, and directed the dividend to be placed to every proprietor's account.

Appius, as has been ſaid before, gave way to three ſeveral reſolutions of the Court of Directors, againſt taking any more mony Subſcriptions; but having now rais'd by this great dividend the expectation of people for future ones, and thinking that the jealouſy of the Directors againſt his proceedings was pretty well over, he could contain himſelf no longer: but of a ſudden, when 'twas leaſt expected, (about a week before the Books were ſhut, when the Treaſury-Office was peſtered with ſo much buſineſs, that they were afraid all would run to confuſion, and the crowd for transferring and accepting ſo great, that there was no coming at the books without extream difficulty,) then Appius propoſed to the Sub-Governor, and ſome other Gentlemen who were with him, a third Subſcription, and told him that he muſt call a Court for that purpoſe; at which propoſal the Sub-Governor and the others being ſurprized, and ſaying, that they had told all their friends there would be no Subſcriptions, he anſwered, that he had told the ſame thing that very morning at Garaway's Coffe-Houſe, but that there muſt be one now. And reiterating his inſtances to the Sub-Governor for a Court, he, after ſome heſitation, conſented to call one. Accordingly the next morning it was agreed to take a Subſcription at 1000 for three millions, each Director to have for himſelf and friends 52000 l. to bring in his Liſt the next day at noon, and to deliver it at the table to the Sub-Governor To give a colour for leaving the remainder, which was near 1500000 l. at the diſpoſal of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, it was reſolved that no Member of either Houſe of Parliament ſhould be inſerted in the Directors Liſts, but that the Sub and Deputy-Governors ſhould take care of them. 'Twas begged, and earneſtly inſiſted upon by ſeveral of the Directors, to be allow'd ſome days to ſpeak to their friends, and to make their Liſts; but no time could be obtained. Appius and his Colleagues were prepared, and did not trouble themſelves what difficulties they put upon the others.

THIS great Man was then in the Zenith of his Glory, by having got a Subſcription at 1000: application was made to him from all quarters: young Ladies came to his levee to beg Subſcriptions, and the pride of the Decemvirs ran ſo high at that time, that the beſt men in the land, could ſcarce be admitted to the ſpeech of them. The Subſcribers, even thoſe who were in the Liſts of the Secretaries of State, were not admitted for ſome days to pay their mony; altho' they were told that their names ſhould be ſtruck out of the Liſts, if their mony was not then paid.

The Directors, who were not of the Cabinet, were as much at a loſs as others: for the ſervants had orders not to let them ſee their own Liſts, as entered in the Books, ſo that they could not tell whether themſelves and their friends were in or not; and to the very laſt they were denied admittance to the Subſcription Books, and could never have a ſight of them, 'till they were ordered to be laid before both Houſes of Parliament. This made many of the Directors then (who did not in the leaſt doubt of being diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the Cabinet, in whoſe guilt they had no hand or ſhare) not ſorry to hear of an Inquiry; as hoping to ſee the pride of their task-maſters abated, and their iniquities detected: tho' by the unhappy turn this affair took afterwards, and thro' their want of opportunity to juſtify their Innocence (in being heard either by themſelves or their Council in either Houſe) they have had too much cauſe ſince to lament the fatal conſequences of this inquiry, wherein they have been equally involv'd with their oppreſſors. The Premiums on this Subſcription advancing, ſecret orders were given to the Caſhiers to enlarge it; and as the premiums roſe, the ſum did ſo too: ſo that at laſt they rais'd it to five millions, as the Sub-Governor declared to the Court of Directors and the General Court; and the Caſhier charged himſelf with having receiv'd five millions, for the firſt payment of the third Subſcription.

THE ſucceſs of this ſubſcription exceeding the hopes of the moſt ſanguin, Appius, whoſe maſter-piece he and his admirers owned it was, thinking himſelf no longer bound to keep any meaſures, he ordered a Loan to be made of the mony ariſing by this Subſcription, and the Caſhiers lent upwards of three millions in one day, without acquainting the Committee of Treaſury with it, according to the cuſtom already introduced: and to keep it the longer concealed from them, there was no Committee of Treaſury ſummoned, during the whole month of July. But the well-meaning Gentlemen of that Committee being ſenſible, that their mony was going in an unaccountable manner, and taking it very ill beſides, that they were not ſo much as ſpoke to in tranſactions of this moment, which ſo nearly concerned them; they made perpetual complaints to the Court of Directors of the irregularity and confuſion in the Treaſury, and that they were afraid the Company would be great ſufferers by it. To all theſe complaints Appius's conſtant anſwer was, *The more confuſion the better; People muſt not know what they do, which will make them the more eager to come into our meaſures; The execution of the Scheme is our buſineſs; The Eyes of all Europe are upon us; Both houſes of Parliament expect to have it done before their next meeting: and the loſs of one*

one million or two is nothing, to the ſpeedy execution of the Scheme.

WHEN the Gentlemen of the Treaſury ſaw that their complaints to the Court of Directors were not minded, they turned their thoughts another way, to endeavour all they could, to put a ſtop to this growing evil. They repreſented to their Chairman in what manner their mony was laviſh'd, that the Caſhiers lent it without bounds or meaſure; that the Caſh was ſo low, that there was danger of being run a ground, which in an undertaking of ſo great importance, might prove fatal; and that it was a ſhame their ſervants ſhould diſpoſe of every thing as they pleaſed, without check or controul: therefore they propoſed that no mony for the future ſhould be paid by the Caſhier, Deputy-Caſhier, or any of the Clerks, without an expreſs order in writing, and under the hand of at leaſt three of the Committee of Treaſury. Theſe repreſentations were frequently made to the Sub-Governor in the Committee, and were heard with a great deal of patience: for it was that Gentleman's own opinion, that the Caſh of the Company ought never to be leſs than one million or 500000 l. at the leaſt; and he often complained that they kept him ſo bare, that he had not the command of one penny of mony. But as he was not his own maſter, and inſtead of depending upon his proper judgment, did in every reſpect follow the dictates and reſolutions of Appius and the Cabinet-Council, there was no redreſs till it was too late; and he had not leave to conſent to have this ſafe and honeſt method put in practice, as long as Appius kept any ſhare of authority in the Court of Directors: but as ſoon as his power was ended by the turn of affairs, and the fall of ſtock, the Sub-Governor immediately conſented to it, and nothing irregular was done in the Treaſury-Office ſince.

Appius having got this great Subſcription and Loan over, as he wiſh'd, and having alſo procured a reſolution of the Court of Directors to deliver warrants for the Midſummer Dividend, he thought he had the world in a ſtring, and might be indulged ſome weeks of receſs from buſineſs. Accordingly he made preparations for a journey to Tunbridge. But before he went, he concerted matters with his ſelect friends (for he and the Negromancer had a Cabal ſeparate from the Cabinet-Council) for ſelling a good quantity of Stock. In what ſplendid equipage Appius went to the Wells, what reſpect was paid him there, with what haughtineſs he behaved himſelf in that place, and how he and his family, when they ſpoke of the Scheme, called it *our Scheme*, is not the ſubject of this diſcourſe. There were witneſſes enough of their folly. But certain it is, that he wrote every Poſt to his Brokers, and no ſooner was one parcel of ſtock diſpoſed of, than he ordered another to be ſold. In ſhort, he and his Conjurer went ſo far, that the other Decemvirs began to perceive his Journey to Tunbridge was a blind, in order to deceive them, and the better to cover the projected ſale of his own ſtock. For Appius having by this time ſold a great deal, and fearing that one way or other it might come to light at the opening of the Books, reſolved to be beforehand with his Colleagues, in caſe they ſhould find fault with him for ſelling ſo much ſtock; and to that end he made loud complaints, that his ſentiments were no longer followed: ſince the Court of Directors had in his abſence revoked the order for delivering out the dividend warrants; and notwithſtanding the inſolent oppoſition made to it by the chief accomptant, they ordered the ten per Cent. dividend to be placed to every man's account, according to his proportion of ſtock; which cut off the hopes of the immenſe gain Appius and his Negromancer had in view, from the premiums they had given for the refuſal of theſe dividend warrants.

SO great a quantity of ſtock had been ſold by Appius and his ſeparate cabal, to be delivered at the opening of the Books, that the time drawing near, and mony being ſcarce, they begun to be in pain, how theſe bargains ſhould be complied with. Appius and his truſty Negromancer therefore ſet their wits at work, how to provide againſt this great evil, and to ſupply the buyers with mony enough, to enable them to take the ſtock which they had ſold them, and they contrived three ways to bring it about. The firſt was, to have a fourth mony Subſcription; in order to which Appius wrote from Tunbridge very preſſing letters to the Sub-Governor for that Subſcription. But that Gentleman having no inclination to any more Subſcriptions, nor indeed any body elſe amongſt the Directors, he did not readily obey Appius's commands; which as ſoon as he underſtood, he came to town on a Sunday in great rage, and appointed a meetting for the next day, where he uſed the Sub-Governor in a very rough manner: ſaying among other things, *that he did not know but it might coſt him his life, to have left off drinking the waters ſo abruptly*; *and that he had rather have given* 10000 l. *than to have come up to town, but that there was a neceſſity to take another Subſcription immediately*. As the Sub-Governor never pretended to underſtand the Scheme, and ſo had all along too much depended upon Appius's skill in the management of this affair, or perhaps not thinking it proper at that juncture of time to break off entirely with him; he gave way to his ſentiments, and called a Court, where it was agreed to take a fourth Subſcription: not by way of Liſts as the former, but that every body, who could come at the books, might ſubſcribe what he pleas'd, not exceeding 500 l. in one name. Appius, knowing what quantity of ſtock he had ſold, did not promote this Subſcription with the ſame intent as the others, to get mony by it, but in order to ſecure his prey: and he was now grown ſo barefaced in his proceedings, that altho he had obliged each Director by an order of Court, even thoſe who were abſent, to take 3000 l. in this Subſcription; yet he delayed to ſubſcribe himſelf for ſome days, and then would ſubſcribe but 500 l. When ſeveral of the Directors told him it was not fair, and that he broke his own rule; he gave little heed to what they ſaid, and ſtood to his reſolution of ſubſcribing but 500 l. The world may be left to judge, how hard a caſe it is, that men who were uſed in this inſolent and fraudulent manner by Appius, ſhould nevertheleſs be cenſur'd in all reſpects, as much as himſelf; and bear an equal odium, not only of what they oppos'd, but of that which, in ſome regards, made them greater ſufferers than others.

THE mony ariſing by this Subſcription, he did not think fit to lend (he had an after-game for a Loan) but he propoſed to employ it in buying of ſtock, to ſupport the price, which begun to ſink. There's reaſon to believe, that this was the laſt thing concerted in the Cabinet Council. They knew Appius had dealt unfairly by them, and cut the graſs under their feet; but they did not know how otherwiſe to help themſelves, but by falling in with him, in adviſing the buying of ſtock for the Company's account: for 'tis apparent that moſt of them took that opportunity to put off a good deal of their own ſtock, by the hands of the Caſhier. And this was APPIUS and his Negromancer's ſecond contrivance to ſupply the town with mony.

THEIR third was ſo bold an attempt, that it can hardly be believed, tho nothing be more true. Thus it was. Tho the two ways mentioned before had ſupplied their buyers with a good deal, APPIUS and his Cabal had ſold ſuch quantities of ſtock, that more mony was ſtill wanting to take it all up. He therefore tryed the Cabinet Council, whether they would come into his meaſures of a new way of lending, which he propoſed to them; but he found them ſo averſe, that he loſt all hopes of bringing them into it: and after many hard words had paſſed between them upon that account, he left them, and went up ſtairs into his Negromancer's room, where having acquainted his ſelect friends (none of whom were Directors) with his ill ſucceſs, they reſolved that the Treaſurer ſhould give his promiſſory Notes to deliver the Company's Bonds as ſoon as they could be got ready, and to lend them for a certain time; and APPIUS took upon him to ſee it executed. This he did, unknown to the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Committee of Treaſury, or any other of the Directors. The Treaſurer, tho ſore againſt his will, to do every body juſtice (for he thought it was puſhing the thing too far) obeyed his commands, ſo great was ſtill his authority; and iſſued out the laſt Monday in Auguſt about 1200000 l. of theſe promiſſory Notes by way of Loan, before any of the Directors came to Town. He was going on in this new way of lending, when the Sub-Governor and ſome of the Committee of Treaſury coming into the office, found all the rooms crouded with people, who came to borrow; at which being extreamly ſurprized, as knowing nothing of this Loan, they look'd at one another with amazement: and asking the Treaſurer how this came about, he told them, that APPIUS would be the ruin of all, and that he did not know where this would ſtop; for that he had given orders to lend to all thoſe, who ſhould come without any limits. The Sub-Governor immediately put a ſtop to it, being no longer able to bear APPIUS's aſſuming temper; and fearing withall that this Loan, ſhould it be ſuffered to go on, would cauſe immediate deſtruction.

THIS extravagant ſtep of APPIUS, and Stock beginning to fall, put an end to the rule and authority of that preſumptuous man; who, in his ridiculous brags of the uſefulneſs and great ſucceſs of his Scheme, uſed to ſay, " that in any other nation but this, they would

" have given him a reward of 500000 l. for the " ſervice he had done to his country." But as he had no hopes to have ſuch a ſum given him, he thought he might take all opportunities to reward himſelf. Nor was this the firſt time that he over-rated his ſervices, and conceived a high opinion of his own merits; for when this Corporation was firſt ſettled, he claimed no leſs a reward than the profits of the Transfers during life, for having had a hand in drawing the Bill for its eſtabliſhment.

THE laſt Scene of this memorable tranſaction comes now under conſideration: and oh that a veil could be drawn over it, and the memory of ſuch a ſenſeleſs reſolution obliterated! as that of voting a Dividend of no leſs than 50 l. per Cent. for no leſs than 12 years. The very words are childiſh and ridiculous. It cannot be believed that any one of the Directors thought it a judicious action: but the gaming part of the town being very fond of ſuch a large Dividend for a number of years, the Court of Directors imprudently came into it, merely out of complaiſance, and to keep up the Stock, till more ſolid meaſures could be taken. It muſt be owned without any ſubterfuge or evaſion, that this was a great inadvertency and error of judgment in ſo many men: for the calculations laid before them, to induce them to come into this reſolution were as abſurd as the declaration it ſelf. Thoſe Inducements have been afterwards laid be-

before the Parliament, and therefore need not to be inſerted here. But 'tis very apparent on the other hand, that they had no ſiniſter end or ſelfiſh deſign in this ſilly vote, whatever conſtruction has been put upon it to the contrary. And of this there needs no clearer proof, than that none of the Directors made any advantage of it, by diſpoſing of Stock either then, or for a conſiderable time after, except APPIUS alone; who not content to have got an immenſe ſum of mony, by ſelling a vaſt quantity at high rates, had the cruelty to follow the Stock, ſtill ſelling till he brought it down to 200. But the generality of the Directors were ſo infatuated with a high opinion of the Stock, that ſeveral of them bought of APPIUS; and the Court of Directors had amongſt them, at the cloſe of their unhappy management, above 200000 l. ſtock more than they uſed to have before the Scheme: another ſure indication of their fair dealing, as well as of their prevention in favour of the Stock; and that many within doors, as well as without, were caught by the juggles and artifices of this cunning Projector. This is an ingenuous account of that matter, which is not ſo criminal as many have repreſented or imagin'd it: unleſs an eaſy compliance for the obtaining of a good end to the public, or an error and miſtake of judgement, be unpardonable crimes. Of ſuch faults the honeſteſt men in the world may be guilty, and have often been ſo.

THAT the thread of the diſcourſe might not be broken, the Writer hereof, who's not us'd to write any Books but in his Counting-houſe, having thought it neceſſary to poſtpone giving an account of ſome material occurrences in the ſequel of this grand affair, takes an opportunity to relate them here. The way and manner of taking the two Subſcriptions of the public Funds, was intirely left by the Court of Directors to APPIUS, or rather aſſum'd by him, who, as has been obſerv'd before, form'd and methodized it his own way, which gave little ſatisfaction; by reaſon of his introducing too much uncertainty, hurry, and confuſion, which he did undoubtedly to ſerve his own ends: but he left the other Directors under great perplexities how to prevent diſobliging thoſe perſons, who applied to them; and who could not believe, that it was ſo little in their power to ſerve their friends. But this is nothing in compariſon of another point: for when it came to be conſider'd, what ſhould be allowed to the ſubſcribers of the public Debts, there were long debates in the Court of Directors; eſpecially relating to the Redeemables, whether they ſhould have their option to take back their Subſcriptions or ſtand to them, as was given to the Irredeemables, and to determine, what ſhould be allowed them. There was much variety of opinions concerning this laſt particular, which finally centred in APPIUS's inclination of giving them

Stock at 800. But the option was ſtill very much inſiſted upon in their behalf, ſeveral of the Court inclining to give it to them; but theſe were at laſt over-ruled, by APPIUS's ſtiff adhering to the other ſide of the queſtion, ſo that it was carried againſt the option. This violent ſtep, has not been one of the leaſt cauſes of the ſufferings of the unhappy Directors: for about ſixteen thouſand people, who were concerned in thoſe funds, and were ſo unjuſtly dealt with, raiſed a clamour that could not be ſtifled, and which involved their beſt friends and fellow-ſufferers of the Court of Directors, in one common ruin with thoſe very men, who had acted the moſt ſtrenuouſly againſt them.

ANOTHER piece of injuſtice, which gave much diſcontent to the Public, and occaſioned a great deal of heart-burning againſt the Directors, was the keeping ſo long from the proprietors of the public funds, the Stock, to which they were intitled by the Subſcriptions. The Directors were not unſenſible of the clamours abroad, neceſſarily proceeding from theſe unreaſonable delays: and they were ſatisfied, that the proportion of ſtock, due to each ſubſcriber, might be entered to his account in fewer weeks, than the months which the juggler took for doing of it. Orders were therefore almoſt every Court-day ſent to the chief Accomptant, to diſpatch that work; and when he was free from the gout, he was ſent for into the Court, where it was recommended to him in the moſt earneſt manner. But all the uneaſineſs and preſſing inſtances of the Court of Directors about this matt er, were to little purpoſe. The Conjurer knew that he was ſupported by one, who had the conduct of the Scheme: and as they had laid their projects for ſelling a great deal of their own ſtock at a proper time, they thought it their intereſt to lock up as much ſtock of that of others, as they could; to prevent its coming to market, when they ſhould be ready for ſelling theirs. Thus were the innocent (I may ſay ſilly) Directors railed at, for the vile practices of two men: tho' it muſt be confeſt, that thoſe, who were in power, ſhould have exerciſed it more effectually in a caſe ſo neceſſary, and of the practicableneſs whereof they were ſo much convinced; but whilſt a man has authority in a ſociety, 'tis the hardeſt matter in the world to carry any thing againſt him, if he will determinately oppoſe it. All bodies politic, and particularly mercantile Companies, may be ſafely appeal'd to for the truth of this obſervation.

AS APPIUS had laid the foundation of his projects in confuſion, that he might the better fiſh in troubled waters; ſo he had the malice to propoſe another mony-ſubſcription, at a time, when the affairs of the Company were moſt incumbred. He took the ſpecious pretence of confining it to the proprietots of the ſtock, and that for their particular advantage (who had not hitherto been diſtinguiſh'd from others) every one of them ſhould have the liberty of ſubſcribing 20 per Cent. in proportion to what ſtock he had, if he thought fit. The Court of Directors repreſented to him the impracticableneſs of ſuch a Subſcription, by reaſon that the ſubſcribers of the Redeemable and Irredeemable Debts had not their proportion of ſtock aſcertained, and entered to their account: and that it was unknown, who were the proprietors of the two laſt mony-ſubſcriptions, till receipts were delivered out. But Appius affirm'd, that he ſhould find out ways to make it practicable; and would needs have this Subſcription agreed to, publiſh'd, and laid before the general Court, who applauded the project, and much more the contriver of it. Notwithſtanding all this, Appius finding it afterwards impracticable to execute, he deſiſted; and conſented to have the general Court acquainted, that the Directors having better conſidered of it, they did not think it for the intereſt of the Company to proceed in that ſubſcription at preſent. 'Tis no wonder that a man, who durſt ſo palpably abuſe a whole general Court, conſiſting of hundreds of proprietors, ſome of 'em of great power and quality, ſhould be able to miſlead or overrule a Court of Directors, wherein he likewiſe had ſome advice and intelligence.

ONE thing was moſt remarkable in this aſtoniſhing tranſaction of the S. S. S. Appius did never permit any body to make a motion in relation to it, but himſelf, during his five months reign; nor any minute, relating thereto, to be entered in the Court-Book, but what he dictated. He viſibly affected a prophetic ſtile, delivering his words with an emphaſis and extraordinary vehemence: and us'd to put himſelf into a commanding poſture, rebuking thoſe that durſt in the leaſt oppoſe any thing he ſaid, and endeavouring to inculcate, as if what he ſpoke was by impulſe, uttering theſe and ſuch like expreſſions: *Gentlemen, don't be diſmayed: you muſt act with firmneſs, with reſolution, with courage. I tell you, 'tis not a common matter you have before you. The greateſt thing in the world is referred to you. All the mony of Europe will center amongſt you. All the nations of the earth will bring you tribute.* But when the tide turn'd, when ſtock began to fall, and conſequently, that his power was at an end; then this poor man (forſooth) was but one in thirty one, as he was wont to expreſs it himſelf. And indeed it was hardly ſafe for him to walk the ſtreets, or even to come into the Court of Directors room: where he was daily reproached, reviled, and abuſed, for all the villanies he had contriv'd and committed, and the many impoſitions he had put upon them. In effect, he was two or three times ſoundly caned by ſome of the Directors, in the heighth of their paſſion.

TO ſet the ſubſtance of what has been hitherto ſaid in a nearer view, the better to make it underſtood, leave is begg'd, to make a ſhort Recapitulation, whereby the innocent and the guilty may be eaſily diſcern'd.

THE contriving of the Scheme has been thought to be the original ſin, from whence derived all the calamities that enſued. But herein the Directors were innocent: the authors of it were Appius, the Treaſurer, and the Negromancer.

THE diſpoſing of the fictitious ſtock, which raiſed ſo much clamour, was the work of the Cabinet Council: the reſt of the Directors were intirely ignorant of it.

THE giving premiums for the Midſummer dividend, was deemed a wicked contrivance. Appius and the Negromancer were the only perſons concern'd in that baſe deſign.

THE unaccountable way of taking the mony-ſubſcriptions, and the increaſing of the ſums agreed upon by the Court of Directors, has been juſtly cenſured. This was concerted by the Cabinet Council, excluſive of the other Directors.

AS for the deficiency in the two laſt mony-ſubſcriptions, the Treaſurer took it wholly upon himſelf; and it did not appear that any of the Directors, or their particular friends, had any mony returned to them. But as 'tis certain, that if the price of ſtock had kept up, there would have been no deficiency; ſo 'tis probable that moſt of this ſum, which prov'd afterwards deficient, was kept under the Treaſurer's thumb for the benefit of the Decemvirs: for 'tis not likely that he return'd it all, to thoſe whom he favor'd or fear'd.

THE Loans, which, as they were managed, occaſioned ſo much loſs to the Company, were chiefly puſh'd on by APPIUS: he influenced the Cabinet Council to take the Loans out of the direction of the Committee of Treaſury, and to put them intirely into the hands of the Caſhiers. He firſt ſent mony to to the Sword-blade to lend mony upon ſubſcriptions, and when he heard they did not lend enough to his mind, he took both the mony and ſubſcriptions out of their hands; and extorted an order of the Committee of Treaſury, by bringing a ſufficient number of the Cabinet Council to out-vote them, for lending it at his own rate upon the ſubſcriptions.

IT was againſt the unanimous opinion of the Court of Directors, that APPIUS ordered a Loan to be made at 4 per Cent. And it was the ſame APPIUS, that directed the Loan of the Exchequer-Bills, and of the great ſum of mony ariſing by the third Subſcription.

LASTLY, contrary to the ſentiments of the Cabinet Council and unknown to any others of the Directors, Appius obliged the Treaſurer to iſſue, by way of Loan, his promiſſory Notes to deliver the Company's Bonds. And on all occaſions he freely declared his opinion, without mincing the matter, that he was not for diſpoſing of the Company's mony to traders and ſuch other fair dealers; but to thoſe who frequented the Alley, and to Ladies and young Gentlemen, who came from the other end of the town, with a ſpirit of gaming: for ſuch, according to him, were the moſt likely to advance the price of ſtock. To make it the more eaſy to them, he defeated the reſolution of the Court of Directors and Committee of Treaſury, for taking defeazances.

THE delays about placing the ſtock to account, proceeding from the redeemable and irredeemable Debts, was the ſole contrivance of Appius and the chief Accomptant; and againſt the intention of all the other Directors.

THE buying of ſtock for the Company's account in order to ſupport it, was contrived by Appius and the Cabinet Council; and it does not appear, that the Treaſurer ſold any ſtock for any of the Directors, except thoſe of that Council.

AS to the large Dividend for a number of years, none of the Directors were in their inclination for it, but came into it to pleaſe the town; which is own'd to have been an injudicious, tho a well-meaning ſtep: and nothing can better demonſtrate this, than that APPIUS was the only man amongſt them, who made advantage of that odd declaration by ſelling of ſtock.

ONE thing more may be truely ſaid, which perhaps is not known to many. It is this; that one of the Directors loſt near 200000 l. by this fatal undertaking: and amongſt the reſt, including S..... and G..... there was about the ſum of 803000 l. got.

THE SCHEME, OR PRACTICAL MODEL, OF A NATIONAL BANK;

To be commenc'd and erected by political Art alone, going, not upon viſionary Calculations, or private, mercenary, and temporary Views: but upon ſuch ſtated Rules and eaſy methods, truly natural, public, and perpetual, as cannot fail effecting it; yet without any ſtock in Caſh, Subſcriptions of mony, or collateral Security in Lands.

Written by a Gentleman, who died in the Year 1708.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ***.

My Lord,

I Have had for a good while paſt lying by me, a manuſcript Treatiſe little in bulk but big with matter. The Author, who was a very able maſter, gave me his Manuſcript a little before his death. I truſt your Lordship with it, but will not communicate it to any other perſon without a valuable conſideration: for as they who are for ſetting up a Bank in Ireland propoſe their own as well as the public advantage; ſo I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould not be ſuitably gratified, whether they may think fit to follow my whole plan (which I judge the only practicable one in that Kingdom, and the only honeſt and ſecure one in any other) or that they may only take proper hints, and accommodate ſuch parts of it as they pleaſe to their own project.

I am

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient
and moſt humble Servant.

THE SCHEME, OF A NATIONAL BANK.

SECTION I.

A *National Bank* is extremely different from all private Banks, ſuch (for example) as is that in London; which, tho having the name of *England* tack'd to it, is built nevertheleſs on narrow foundations, acted by perſonal views, and ſo fram'd as naturally to create ſuſpicion: for both the keeping and the diſpoſal of the Caſh is intruſted in the ſame hands under a private management, without any inſpection, check, or controul from the ſupreme authority. Such a method can never be ſafe nor extenſive: and the frequent Runs on the *Bank of England*, not to ſpeak of other inconveniences to which it is perpetually ſubject, is a plain proof of its inſufficiency. I have therefore, after no leſs ſtudy than experience in buſineſs of this nature, form'd a brief and clear Scheme of a truly *National Bank*; containing the means and methods whereby the ſame may be uſher'd into the the world, approv'd, and eſtabliſhed: and this not only for the accommodation of Merchants, as the *Bank of Amſterdam*; but likewiſe of all perſons whatever, without any danger either to the Government or People. Yet I ſhall readily acknowledge, that there is nothing ſolid in what I have thus advanc'd in general, unleſs it undeniably appears in particular,

I. THAT as a *National Bank*, it is not only a great convenience, but alſo in other reſpects a great benefit to the people; ſo that there is nothing in nature or art more eaſy, than to eſtabliſh ſuch a Bank, the Government being willing.

II. THAT this Bank may be commenc'd and ſet on foot (to the no ſmall amazement, or rather diſappointment of mercenary projectors and ſtock-jobbers) without either any ſtock in Caſh, Subſcriptions of mony, or collateral Security in Lands.

III. THAT it ſhall notwithſtanding be under a perpetual progreſſion, without any ſtagnancy or decay; whereby it may be capable of attaining to immenſe credit, on real not imaginary foundations.

IV. THAT it may be ſo conſtituted, as that every man ſhall at firſt ſight perceive his ſecurity and advantage in it; and immediately truſt it, without the leaſt heſitation or doubt.

V. THAT ſuch a Bank can never be precarious, or ſubject to any accident capable to deſtroy its credit, were all the mony'd men in the Kingdom in combination againſt it.

VI. THAT it ſhall always be able to make prompt Payment at ſight, and to anſwer the Capital at any time on demand: a thing ambiguous or deficient in all other Banks, one only excepted.

VII. THAT it ſhall neither give nor receive Intereſt, for mony paid in or iſſu'd out (Loans to the Government excepted) and yet the profit of the Bank will be very conſiderable and great.

VIII. THAT ſhou'd the Proprietors, upon any ſudden fright or conſternation, draw out all their Caſh in Bank, this cou'd not deſtroy or impair the credit of it; but that, like a living and inexhauſtible ſpring, it wou'd flow out again, and floriſh as before.

IX. THAT this Bank ſhall be proof againſt all the artful tricks, and little cunning of Stock-jobbers: the bane of Credit and common Honeſty.

X. THAT, without any ſiniſter devices to raiſe credit (which in the end is to ruin it) this Bank may more eaſily accommodate the Government with ten or twelve hundred thouſand pounds at low intereſt, than the Bank of England with one hundred thouſand pounds, upon any fund or funds ſettl'd for that purpoſe: and this without tranſgreſſing the ſtated rules of the Bank, or any impeachment to the managers thereof.

XI. THAT ſuch a Bank will not only be of great ſervice to the Nobility and Gentry, as will ſpecially appear in the Plan of it; but muſt likewiſe defeat the corruptions and abuſes of Stewards and Bailiffs, prevent many diſputes in Law, keep the country from being ſu'd for Robberies, with ſeveral other particulars equally honorable and beneficial.

XII. THAT all this may be accompliſh'd with ſmall charge to the Government and Nation, and manag'd without a Governor or Court of Directors: and yet be under ſo exact a method and diſcipline, as to leave no umbrage for any indirect or unfair dealings in the adminiſtration of the Bank, either as to the whole or any part of the ſame.

NOW, ſuppoſing the Plan, from which theſe effects reſult, to be no chimera, but as eaſy to practiſe as to conceive; then the great and happy conſequences, which muſt needs attend ſo uſeful and excellent an eſtabliſhment, will be obvious and plain to the meaneſt capacities: as, in general, the raiſing and advancing of the Kingdom to a degree of Plenty, Wealth, and Power, far ſuperior to all preceding ages; and thereby rendring the ſubjects much more ready and capable to ſerve the Crown, upon any preſſing or great emergency, not with airy riches but real effects. And indeed it is infinitely more reputable, as it is alſo more ſafe, for a Prince to be ſerv'd by all his people; than by any one party among them.

SECTION II.

TO begin then with laying the foundation of this noble Fabrick, the firſt and chief corner ſtone muſt be a clear and adequate idea of ſomething, that is already no leſs facil in practice, than in credit univerſal; and yet will not in all nor in moſt reſpects be the ſame with the Bank we propoſe, which exceeds it on ſeveral accounts, but particularly as to ſecurity and accommodation.

NOW, by this previous idea or firſt principle, the knowlege whereof is as agreeable as it is neceſſary, is meant the *Bank of Amſterſtam*; which open'd its books with bare walls, without any Caſh at all, and conſequently had not its riſe and origine from Subſcriptions of mony: but rather from a prudent and honeſt appointment of State, which, as we are going to ſee, naturally reſulted into a Bank; foreſeen, tho not given out by the ſagacious Inventors.

The Commencement of it was in the following manner.

I. A certain place or office was aſſign'd in a convenient part of the City, for the common receipt and payment of mony. 'Tis now in their famous Stadthouſe, which owes much of its ſplendor to the credit of this inſtitution.

II. THE Government order'd that all receipts and payments, exceeding three hundred Guilders (which make about thirty pounds Sterling) ſhou'd be there made: whereupon Books were provided, and Clerks daily attended at ſtated hours, to make due entry of all ſuch receipts and payments.

III. THESE Books became an authentic record of all proceedings betwixt Parties of this kind, to the preventing of many uncertainties, wranglings, and ſuits at law; whereby their people were preſerv'd in a free and uninterrupted intercourſe of Trade and Commerce, both at home and abroad.

IV. THE Government further injoin'd, that all Bills of Exchange whatſoever, as well inland as foreign, ſhou'd be paid into this office, for the greater ſecurity of all parties in their mutual dealings: as likewiſe to prevent diſappointments, frequently happening in payment of mony intruſted in private hands, ſubject to many and great contingencies, either by abſence or death, by inſolvency or other evil practices.

V. IN the next place, the Magiſtrates and City were by Law made reſponſible, for the ſafe cuſtody of all monies committed to their charge: and theſe were ſecured againſt all fraudulent and corrupt practices, from thoſe imploy'd by them; not only by ſufficient ſureties, but alſo by penal Laws rendring their wilful misbehavior capital.

HERE mark the conſequences. The Merchants and Traders, to avoid the neceſſary trouble attending this affair, (as the frequent carrying of mony to and from the ſaid office, which took up much of their time) choſe rather to lodge the ſame in that place, where it was in the Office-Book plac'd to the Proprietor's tor's folio or account; and ſo from time to time transferr'd by direction to the account of diverſe perſons, who likwiſe found it as ſafe and convenient to continue it where it was. Thus, for example, the ſum of one hundred pounds was often paſt over from one man's account to another a hundred times; and conſequently ſupply'd the place of ten thouſand pounds, every one finding it more eaſy, convenient, and ſafe, to continue his Caſh where it was, than to have it in his own keeping. In this manner was this office naturally and inſenſibly converted into a Bank.

SECTION III.

HAVING hitherto briefly, and as it were ſpeculatively (tho' 'tis really a hiſtorical account) exhibited the materials, or rather the foundation and main pillars, that ſupport and conſtitute this celebrated Bànk; I ſhall go on to the practical part, or preſent management of it; both as I have ſumm'd up the ſame from my own long experience, and as I have collected it out of the Books of thoſe, who have written on this Subject in their own country, where I have ſome time liv'd.

THIS Bank, as I ſaid, is a general Caſh-keeper, for which the City is reſponſible; and where any perſons may put in their Caſh, and draw it out at their pleaſure: every one paying ten Guilders at the opening of his account, and afterwards a Penny for each party or parcel that he draws out. This way is very expeditious and convenient for Negotiants, who pay and receive their debts by Bills; their mony being ſurer than in their own Coffers, and above all hazards, becauſe the City is their Security.

FOR this very reaſon it is, that the Bank mony, or Bank-bill, is always better than running Caſh; the difference being (1) now of about ſix per Cent. which is call'd the *Agio* of the Bank.

SUCH as have mony to put into Bank, may do it of one of theſe three things. 1. Ordinary ſpecies. 2. Ducatons at three florins a piece. 3. Bars of Gold and Silver at their higheſt rate. If they have a mind to draw their Ducatons back in ſix months after, they ſhall have them again, paying about fifteen pence per each hundred pounds Sterling for keeping: and if their mony is in ordinary ſpecies, the Caſh-keeper gives a receipt according to the value in Bank; or elſe they muſt ſeek upon Change ſome Negotiant that wants running Caſh, and who will write them the parcel they want, ſomewhat cheaper than the Caſh-keeper.

(1) In 1707.

HE that, having Mony in Bank, has a mind to pay ſome parcel of it, muſt carry his Note himſelf; or paſs a Letter of Attorney before the Book-keeper of the Bank, to him of whom he pretends to make uſe, or elſe the Party will not be written.

Thus the Note is to be:

1124. *Meſſieurs the Commiſſioners of the Bank will pay to N. N. the Sum of five hundred Gilders : at Amſterdam, the day of* 1707. G. 500
Z. Z.

The folio 1124, at the head of the Note, is the folio of the Ledger, where the account of the party is.

THE Notes are receiv'd in the Bank every day that it is open, from ſeven till eleven in the morning: and if one that has a Note be neceſſitated to carry it that very day, he may go in the afternoon; for, on paying ſixpence, he'll be receiv'd.

THERE is no Party receiv'd in Bank under three hundred florins, without paying ſixpence, unleſs it be for the Eaſt and Weſt-India Companies.

HE that has written a ſum in Bank, cannot transfer it but two days after his account is open'd: and he muſt go to the Bank to inquire if his account be written, or he forfeits three per Cent, for what he writes.

WHEN you go to inquire if your Party is written, you muſt go before eight: from eight to nine you muſt pay two pence, and from nine to three in the afternoon you pay ſix pence.

THE Book-keeper ſends every morning to thoſe that deſire it, a Note of the parties carry'd to their account the day before: and this intelligence, very ſerviceable to great dealers, is regularly perform'd for about fifty ſhillings a year.

IF you write to any man more than you have in Bank, you forfeit three per Cent. of what you have written.

THE Commiſſioners of the Bank balance their Accounts twice a year, viz. in January and in July. Such as have their accounts open, are oblig'd to go in Perſon, or to ſend their Letter of Attorney, to declare what they pretend to be their due: and if it agrees with the Bank, they are told in what folio their balance is transferr'd; but if what they pretend does not agree with the Book of the Bank, they are oblig'd to furniſh an account of parcels, that the Commiſſioners may find the error.

Nota bene, That if you do not go in January and in July to adjuſt your Accounts, you forfeit twenty florins.

SECTION IV.

THO the Bank of Amſterdam has deſervedly the pre-eminence of the reſt, there are ſeveral other Banks ſettled in moſt of the cities and chief towns of that country, for the peculiar ſervice of the people inhabiting each Province: and there are Cantores beſides, where the public mony collected in each Province, is lodg'd; and appropriated for the payment of ſuch mony, Principal and Intereſt, as is lent to the State. For this the Treaſurer gives his bond, and pays off the Intereſt from time to time, as the ſame grows due; half-yearly if demanded, and without the leaſt delay, or any other order than his own: the ſame being enter'd in his book, and endors'd on the Bond; where he only inſerts the month and year, which is all he has to vouch for what he pays. This whole matter the Treaſurers perform with the greateſt eaſe and addreſs imaginable, no man being oblig'd to any attendance, or to come twice, obſerving the limited times of the Office.

SUCH as have credit in the ſaid Cantores, may have Bills to receive their mony at Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, or any other part of the Country: but 'tis certain that for all this, thoſe Cantores are ſubject to diſrepute and diſcredit, ariſing from the imperfection of their frame; while the *Bank of Amſterdam* is inviolable, and permanent as the City wherein it ſtands.

THE Rules we have mention'd to be obſerv'd for the orderly keeping of accounts, may be very proper for ſuch as inhabit together in the ſame City or narrow diſtrict; but in thoſe countries where the people live ſcatter'd, and great towns are remote, there the perſons concern'd cannot ſo eaſily keep to the days and hours uſual at Amſterdam: and therefore the Market-days are the fitteſt times to appoint for ſuch purpoſes, becauſe the people will of courſe reſort to the reſpective Market-towns on thoſe days, whether to buy and ſell, or to tranſact their other mutual affairs.

THE foregoing Rules, ſo far as they can be made practicable in other nations, being the only real materials, whereby to lay the foundation of a *National Bank*, it is neceſſary that the ſame be obſerv'd in each of the Cities and conſiderable Towns incorporate of any Country, where a Bank is to be eſtabliſh'd; and in ſuch diſtances of place, and diſtinction of towns, as ſhall be judg'd moſt conducive to the end propos'd: for nothing is to be in our Syſtem ſo precarious as the Cantores in Holland, tho we deſign all things ſhall be as expeditious, manifeſt, and exact.

THIS will inevitably erect ſo many Banks, ſubſervient to each other, and ſubordinate (tho not ſubject) to that of the ſame nature in the Capital: this will be a banking really *national*, which can only be nominally ſaid of that call'd the *Bank of England*: and, what is more, all this may be accompliſh'd in any of theſe great nations, as well as in little Holland, without any ſuch collateral ſecurity as Lands, or ſuch other things made over in truſt. Finally, the matter of ſuch a Bank depends ſo wholly on the frame, and the model of it is ſo order'd and conſtituted; that it can never be in the power of the few that manage, having intereſt, to diſcredit or hurt it: nor be the intereſt of the many, having power (as the Government and People) to diſturb or deſtroy it. Indeed the ſecurity of all things conſiſts not in the materials, but in the form: and if the form or tree of Government be good, the fruit thereof will likewiſe be good.

ALL theſe things being premis'd, let's now come to the practical Model of ſuch a Bank in this Kingdom of England, and which may ſerve as well for Scotland or Ireland.

SECTION V.

OUR labor in this part will be the ſhorter, in that it will be like the Concluſion of a Demonſtration; where all the axioms, definitions, poſtulates, propoſitions, and other members of the premiſſes, are clear and undeniable. The difference of ours from the Dutch Banks, will be perceiv'd at firſt ſight wherever it occurs, and the accommodation of each to the other no leſs perſpicuous.

TO begin therefore, there are already eſtabliſh'd Chambers in each City and incorporate Town of this Kingdom, with a general Caſhier or Treaſurer, commonly call'd the Chamberlain of the place; annually choſen, and intruſted by the people, with the receipts and iſſues of their public Income: but under the whole care, inſpection, and direction of the Magiſtrates, viz. the Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the Corporation; or by whatever other name the chief Magiſtrate may be call'd, as Soverain, Portreeve, Bailiff, or any other of the like import, which I underſtand alſo of the Chamberlain. This Caſhier can iſſue no mony without their order, which he carefully keeps to vouch his accounts, when the ſame are audited and brought to balance; which is commonly done once a year, and ought in good economy to be twice. Being choſen by the People to his great Truſt, they are (as in law and equity they ought to be) made anſwerable for his Mal-adminiſtration; and they take care that the Security given be ſufficient to ſolve or indemnify them. Wherefore theſe are the places moſt proper for the deſign'd purpoſe of erecting Banks: and thus the clock is made to our hands, while there remains but to hang on the weights, and then the wheels will be ſet in motion.

I. IT ſhould therefore be ordain'd by Parliament, that the Chambers of the reſpective Cities, and thoſe incorporate Towns judg'd moſt convenient, be the common places allow'd by Law, for the general receipts and payments of mony.

II. THAT the receipts and payment of all ſums above twenty pounds be there made; the expedition, ſafety, eaſe of mind, good husbandry, and other advantages ariſing from which regulations, will abundantly appear in the next Section after this.

III. THAT all monies due upon bonds, obligatory bills, or bills of Exchange whether inland or foreign, be paid into theſe Chambers; and that the reſpective Chamberlains be the General Caſhiers, Receivers, or Treaſurers, intruſted with the cuſtody of all Caſh from time to time paid in: but left free to the ſole diſpoſal of every proprietor, to carry off, or to place to his proper folio or account, or to transfer to the account of any other.

IV. THAT for this purpoſe Books be provided, and Clerks (under good ſecurity) be appointed to attend daily at ſtated hours; to take and keep an exact Account and authentick Regiſter of all transfers, receipts, and payments.

V. THAT the Mayor or chief Magiſtrate, and ſuch two or more of the ſenior Aldermen for the time being (as ſhall be directed by Parliament) be the Commiſſioners, intruſted with the inſpection and care of the Bank; who are to have each of them a key to the Caſh-room, under the reſtrictions in ſuch caſes ordinarily provided, and to be always preſent at the opening and ſhutting in of the Bank.

VI. THAT the People and Magiſtracy of the place, annually chuſing their ſaid Chamberlain to this important Charge, be anſwerable by Law for his faithful diſcharge of the ſame, and conſequently be Guarantees for the Bank. This is no more a hardſhip on the Corporation, than formerly on the Counties; which were reſponſible to the Crown in the Exchequer, for the Sheriffs intruſted with the general receipts of the ſeveral Counties, when they were annually choſen by the People: which method is therefore the more recommendable, in that it is moſt agreeable to the antient cuſtom and conſtitution of our Engliſh Government; as ſuch ſecurity provided in the Cities and incorporated Towns, will give theſe Banks ſo great a credit and reputation, that no room for any ſcruple or ſuſpicion can be left in the minds of the People.

VII. LASTLY, that for the greater ſecurity of all perſons, depoſiting their mony in theſe Banks, the management thereof be under the ſtricteſt Diſcipline, corroborated by Parliament with ſutable penal Laws, rendring all corrupt and fraudulent practices equally puniſhable with crimes of the higheſt nature, as in caſes of Treaſon and Felony without Clergy.

AFTER what has been ſo minutely related in the management of the *Bank of Amſterdam* (whoſe model is copy'd by all the inferior Banks, tho to their misfortune not by the Cantores) there is no need of particularizing the manner of entring, transferring, drawing out, remitting, and the like; nor yet of ſpecifying the reſpective fees, mulcts, or other emoluments and perquiſites, accruing on diverſe occaſions to the Bank: ſince all ſuch things *mutatis mutandis*, and regard had to the different circumſtances of time or cuſtoms of countries, will be eaſily collected, adjuſted, and ſettled, by thoſe who are capable to form and go on with this Undertaking; which, next to God's providence, is the higheſt bleſſing that can ever happen to any trading or opulent nation.

SECTION VI.

IN this whole affair as there is nothing hard of conception, ſo every thing is eaſy in practice; and nothing wanting, but inclination and authority to effect it. Cuſtom, back'd by other prejudices, will at firſt oppoſe ſuch an Inſtitution, no leſs than the intereſt that is ſure to be made againſt it, by ſuch as have only views of their own; tho, by the way, a vaſtly greater number of perſons will be employ'd by this Bank, than poſſibly can be by any Joint-ſtock or mercantile Bank in the world. Nor ought it to be forgot, that nevertheleſs many offices are thereby ſav'd to the Crown, and much vexation to the People: not to ſpeak diſtinctly of a thouſand advantages to the King and People, which every man of penetration will readily diſcover beforehand, and which daily occurrences will ſuggeſt to the dulleſt.

IT is not the leaſt of theſe advantages, that the publick Taxes, and other Duties gather'd in the ſeveral Counties, may by the Collectors be paid into theſe Banks, whence they will be eaſily remov'd into the Exchequer: for which reaſon the Banks are very proper to be appointed his Majeſty's General Receivers in every County; which will prove exceeding beneficial, in preventing Loſſes both to the Sovereign and the Subject.

THE Nobility alſo and the Gentry, lodging their Caſh and Rents in theſe places, may receive the ſame in any part of his Majeſty's dominions, allowing the uſual premium for the Exchange: and indeed under this ſettlement thoſe Rents will naturally fall into the Banks, and muſt in the whole amount to many thouſands of pounds for their ſupport.

THIS is plain, that theſe Remittances will be made without any hazard, becauſe no Bills of Exchange are by the Rules of the Bank to be granted in any place, unleſs the Mony be firſt paid in: ſo that this may be done to great profit, without the uſe of any man's Caſh, whereby the Capital Stock may be always kept whole and entire; and, were it ten millions, ready to anſwer on demand.

IT will be objected, that part of the Stock will ſometimes be neceſſarily drawn out; and I anſwer this objection by granting it, but with a due explication: for tho, by the mutual returns of Mony, ſome part of the Stock may be drawn out of one place; yet the ſame being made good in another, is within call and in the nation ſtill, as much as Caſh remov'd out of one room into another, is in the ſame houſe.

WHEREFORE this Bank can have no occaſion to borrow, nor muſt it lend upon any pretence whatſoever. Nevertheleſs, the Crown may be ſupply'd at any time, on borrowing Clauſes and ſettled Funds, by the Proprietors writing off in the reſpective Banks in each County (due notice being previouſly given in the Gazette) upon ſuch incouragement as the Parliament ſhall allow: and which will as eaſily be anſwer'd, when the ſaid Taxes are gather'd and brought in; and all this without any tranſgreſſion or impeachment, either of the management or the managers.

THIS proviſion alone ought to recommend the preſent Undertaking, preferably to all others, both to the King and to the People: for as the King is ſure to get as much mony as the Parliament allows, without thoſe delays and deficiencies which too often happen; ſo the People will be able more equally to improve their money on ſuch publick ſecurities; whereas this opportunity is now confin'd almoſt to the Citizens of London and Parliament-men, and even among them commonly to ſuch only, as will buy or earn favor.

IT were needleſs to talk of the Remittances of Cloathiers, Graſiers, or any other kind of dealers: ſince he, who is not able to make ſuch concluſions to himſelf; does but loſe his labor, in reading any part of this Scheme at all.

SECTION VII.

THUS, in as few words and propoſitions as could well be uſed, is the frame and practice of a truly *National Bank* made ſo plain and intelligible: that whatever elſe, not expreſs'd, ſhall be deem'd uſeful or neceſſary; may with ſmall application, by perſons vers'd in affairs of this nature, be fully deduc'd and properly apply'd.

AND whereas it may be objected, that the *Bank of England* is not only eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament, but likewiſe by the ſame Law to have no rival, (the Parliament having declar'd their reſolution to eſtabliſh no other Bank, or Undertaking in the nature of a Bank, during the continuance of it) I anſwer firſt, that this regards England only, and but for a limited time: ſecondly, that our intended Bank may be ſet up, when, by the expiration of the ſet time, the imperfection or miſmanagement of the *Bank of England* ſhall make people long for a better: and I anſwer thirdly, that, if people were wiſe, they need not ſtay half ſo long.

THE reaſon is obvious: for the propos'd *National Bank* is of a quite different nature from the *Bank of England*, as well in the end as the means; and therefore will not interfere or rival it, either in point of Power or Profit. Now theſe being the two eſſentials intended by the Clauſe of enacting no other Bank, and the eſſentials not being hurt by the propos'd Undertaking; it is humbly conceiv'd to be moſt evident, that the Parliament may juſtly eſtabliſh ſuch a *National Bank*: for the intention of the Law, and of thoſe in whoſe favor it was made, being ſatisfy'd; the letter of it neither can nor ought to hinder the Legiſlative Power, from incouraging by their ſanction ſuch an Eſtabliſhment as the preſent, ſhould it be found to be for the common good of the realm.

TO make good my aſſertion, that the end is no more the ſame, than the means, in the *Bank of England* and this Undertaking, it muſt be obſerv'd: that one grand difference between the propos'd *National Bank* and the *Bank of England*, is (as was laid down at the beginning) that the *Bank of England* has both the cuſtody and the diſpoſal of other men's Caſh; whereas the propos'd *National Bank* is to have only the cuſtody, but not the diſpoſal, which will make the Proprietors always ſafe and eaſy. Another no leſs eſſential difference is, that the *National Bank* is neither to borrow nor to lend any money, but is to ſubſiſt only by the advantages reſulting from returns, transfers, and the like: for theſe will be ſufficient to ſupport its honour and ſafety, without ingaging in any ſecret indirect negotiations or myſterious Politicks; which, however tempting they may be, are always dangerous, and may at laſt prove fatal (as it has frequently happen'd in other reſpects) both to the *Bank of England* itſelf, and to all concern'd with it. Wherefore if the Law provides, that neither of the Banks ſhall break in upon the other in theſe eſſentials; then their ſeveral Powers and Profits can never interfere, which is a full anſwer to the whole force of the Objection.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

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